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THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

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A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture

BUILDING A WORLD WITHOUT WELFARE

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Marvin Olasky
Eugene Genovese
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Barbara Dafoe Whitehead
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Breaking Taboos

Christina Hoff Sommers
Charles Murray
Dinesh D'Souza
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Volume 6, Number 1
January/February 1995

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THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

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PAGE 61

4 BIRD'S EYE
Our chance of a lifetime to end the welfare curse.

7 SIDELIGHTS
Elmer Fudd vs. Bill Clinton. Newt Gingrich. China today. The rights of grass.

8 SCAN
Election reports. Body weight liberation. Marion Barry, welfare critic. George Gilder on I.Q. Poorly understood poverty. Barkley for Governor. The health cost explosion. Immigration rumblings.

16 INDICATORS ◆ Numbers, etc.
The working poor? Massive support for welfare cuts. Haiti and population growth. Multicultural gulch. Taking the measure of the NEA. Shoot me now or hit me later.

21 TWO VIEWS
Should all-male schools be illegal? From the Left and from the Right, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Leon Podles make their cases.

23 "LIVE" WITH TAE
"People want their money back, they want their freedom back, they want their country back." An exclusive interview with Senator Phil Gramm.

Blueprints for a new world of welfare

28 AMERICA AT MIDNIGHT
William J. Bennett
On the 30th anniversary of the Moynihan Report, it's past time to repair the American family.

33 SEX, FAMILIES, RACE, POVERTY, WELFARE
A symposium
With Walter Williams, Barbara Dafoe Whitehead, Lee Rainwater, Charles Murray, Glenn Loury, Sen. Joe Lieberman, Mickey Kaus, George Gilder, Eugene Genovese, Martin Anderson, and the ghost of Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

38 THE SUMMER OF '65
Daniel Patrick Moynihan
The author remembers the birth of *The Negro Family*, and describes the great transformation it prefigured.

42 THE VIEW FROM
Marvin Olasky

Cover Illustration by Marc Mongeau

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49 REBIRTH OF THE MATERNITY HOME
George Liebmann
Forget welfare checks. Here's how to help poor women in trouble.

58 RESCUE THE PERISHING
Louis M. Nanni
The director of a rare homeless shelter that does more than shelter describes the tough love desperately needed by homeless men and women.

61 MAKING AMERICA SICK?
Carolyn Weaver
Here's a welfare program that's costlier than AFDC, and growing like kudzu. Yet welfare reformers aren't even talking about it.

65 PARIAHS
A roundtable discussion on forbidden research, with leading lepers Christina Hoff Sommers, Charles Murray, Dinesh D'Souza, and Christopher Hitchens doing the talking.

73 TRANSCRIPT ◆ Words worth repeating
Excerpts from a Bradley lecture on feminism by Christina Hoff Sommers. Very contemporary extracts from the Moynihan report.

75 JOURNAL ◆ The daily work of Americans
Gaye Wagner collars a career criminal. Blake Hurst harvests corn. Ann Macfarlane lunches with Boris Yeltsin. Greg Kaza runs against himself.

79 ENTERPRISING ◆ Business as an imaginative act
Private and electronic competitors are delivering a message to the U.S. Postal Service: Time for big change.

83 THE ECONOMIST
The environmental movement discovers the limits to its growth.

86 FLASHBACK
In 1808, 13-year-old William Cullen Bryant wrote paeans to...free trade.

87 BOOK TALK
Florence King—*The Kennedy Women* by Laurence Leamer
George Garrett—"*If They Move...Kill 'Em!*" by David Weddle
Barber Conable—*Home Style* by Richard Fenno, Jr.
Eugene McCarthy—*Nixon Reconsidered* by Joan Hoff
John McClaughry—*Arrogant Capital* by Kevin Phillips

94 THE DIGEST ◆ Summaries of important research
War technology...rock and roll incomes...bad jury rules...school spending's poor payback...Germany and Japan in trouble...software may drive us buggy...and other things worth knowing about.

101 OPINION PULSE ◆ The latest survey data
Republican realignment, satisfaction with work, and welfare reform. Exit poll results from election night.

112 BIOGRAPH/NAMES IN THE NEWS
Who is Tokyo Sexwale?

PAGE 42

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Bird's Eye

Karl Zinsmeister

Chance of a Lifetime

At this point, it's almost a kabuki ritual. Driven by public distress, leaders in Washington promise "major reform" of the welfare system. They pledge to "turn the public assistance system upside down." They swear they'll "end welfare as we know it."

Each of the last eight presidents has promised salvation. Johnson declared War on Poverty. Nixon promised to end all problems with a "guaranteed income." Reagan pledged dramatic reform, then settled for a pitiful "work incentive" refinement. The year 1988 brought the "Family Support Act" and ballyhooed expectations of transforming welfare into a wholesome job program. It's a twice-a-decade Washington habit. It's a ghastly cicada that emerges from the earth every five or six years, singing a siren song, only to sneak back into the deep after achieving its selfish purposes—with the world left behind utterly unimproved by its presence.

Only one thing has been accomplished by this miserable repeating cycle of sham welfare reforms: Time and again, there has been an ineffectual venting of public determination to see our current, corrosive welfare edifice dismantled. The actual number of individuals languishing on our welfare rolls as squalid dependents, meanwhile, has risen to an historic high—*nearly 20 million souls, in all.* Whole generations of Americans have grown up without any experience of independence and personal responsibility. Amidst the human wreckage strewn glaringly across our national landscape, the annual financial costs to taxpayers of hundreds of billions of dollars seem only a comparatively modest part of the problem.

Given welfare reform's recent history as an intellectual and political cul-de-sac, I startle even myself as I prepare to write my next thought: A dramatic redirection of the U.S. welfare system—and no mere tinkering—is today within reach.

Even before reform Republicans crested into Congress in November, many of us who ached to see our current cruel system of welfare addiction broken up felt that the chances of genuine reform might be better than at any time since the launching of the War on Poverty 30 years previously. After all, President Bill Clinton owed his election to one bold promise to be the Democrat who would eliminate welfare in its current forms. (This had the same public appeal as hiring the Dirty Dozen to clean up Tombstone.)

Meanwhile, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the original sentinel of welfare-linked social decay (see pages 29 to 41), had unexpectedly been installed—in one of those delicious turns of history where whipping boy is elevated to master—as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, the veritable War Room of welfare policy. Moynihan subsequently devoted much of 1993 and 1994 to insistent prodding of president and adjutants not to neglect their welfare-transformation stepchild.

Each of the last eight presidents has promised welfare salvation. It's a twice-a-decade Washington habit. It's a ghastly cicada that emerges from the earth every five or six years, singing a siren song.

More fundamentally, an American public jolted by a crack epidemic and crime wave, sobered by recurrent urban unrest, and deeply troubled by a runaway illegitimacy curve was suddenly in no mood for liberal social theory. Indicator lights glowed all across the nation. Even the normally apologetic *Washington Post* splashed an unflinching eight-part series on

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welfare pathology across its front pages in the fall of 1994, withering the overseers and dishonest clients of our current welfare system with equal censure.

Then came the Great Revolt Against the State, and the election of a venturous troop of progressivists presworn to sharp departures in welfare policy. Suddenly all the meters of political unthinkability cry out for recalibration.

Great social reforms, like most forms of human development, tend to occur in fits and leaps rather than gradual increments. After decades of increasingly unwholesome decay, it is possible we are now approaching one of those rare alignments of the cultural planets where conventional constraints on problem-solving and social invention need not bind.

Among other innovations, real solutions to the wrenching tragedy of America's underclass could follow.

And yet...

The glistening opportunity may still be squandered.

For the truth is, the welfare reform strategy that currently ranks as the glib favorite in Washington and many state capitols (where much of the real action will take place) is a disastrous dead end. I am referring to the combination of "workfare" rules and new daycare entitlements that lie at the heart of President Clinton's 1994 welfare reform plan and many of the other proposals with which it competes.

As George Liebmann, one of the authors featured later in this magazine, has written elsewhere, the Clintonite proposals are neither fresh nor even particularly relevant. "The core of the bill is a scheme, similar to many fostered since the Nixon administration, to drive a small percentage of welfare mothers into the workforce and their children into publicly supported daycare centers, for which several billion dollars are sought to be appropriated—essentially a feminist agenda rather than a welfare reform one."

The workfare+daycare path holds no promise whatever. It is, indeed, nothing more than an expansion of what we already have (the 1988 welfare reform was also billed as workfare salvation). There is an admitted appeal to the idea of trading relief checks for work. But the actual practice of government workfare has no resemblance at all to what the public has in mind when it envisions that simple work-for-aid swap. For two reasons:

First, governments and government-supervised workplaces exhibit relatively little discipline. Even using smart, healthy, well-paid workers—three-quarters of a million of them—the government can barely get the mail delivered (see our article on page 79). Imagine the efficiency of a government office or worksite staffed by welfare mothers.

Which brings us to the second flaw in workfare, namely that most of the long-term, hard-core recipients who represent welfare's real problem population will make abysmal employees. The idea that you can turn these women into nice middle-class workers by running them through a few perfunctory job training classes (just how perfunctory can only be believed by sitting through some) is ludicrous. According to a 1994 Columbia University study, four out of every ten welfare mothers are serious drug abusers. Most of them are miserably educated. The vast majority have deep emotional problems. Most have small children to take care of. These women have no work experience, no work habits, few basic disciplines. The hard reality seen in scores of programs is that simply getting them out of bed in the morning can be a major challenge.

This is why the Congressional Budget Office has estimated it will cost $3,300 just to provide basic monitoring for each workfare enrollee. On top of that you have to add a huge bill for training just to instill marginal office or manual skills, plus the cost of tools, supplies, and workstations, plus the expense of daycare for the children, plus the amount of the welfare grant. Soon you find that it costs governments a mountain of money to keep these individuals occupied, that most produce very little for it, and that their effective pay rates approach $16 per hour on the job. That isn't likely to hurry too many people away from welfare dependence.

IT IS POSSIBLE WE ARE APPROACHING ONE OF THOSE RARE ALIGNMENTS OF THE CULTURAL PLANETS WHERE CONVENTIONAL CONSTRAINTS ON PROBLEM-SOLVING AND SOCIAL INVENTION NEED NOT BIND.

The theory, again, is that the welfare recipients will eventually get *real* jobs and live happily ever after in ranch houses. The reality isn't even close. After seven years, the 1988 workfare bill has resulted in less than 1 percent of all welfare recipients going to work, despite $13 billion in extra expenditures. The most optimistic projections in President Clinton's current proposal promise that $9.2 billion in extra spending over five years will induce 6 percent of the total welfare population to participate in "work programs."

In terms of actual individuals, the rosy scenario in the original Clinton plan projects that new workfare rules would nudge 70,000 parents off the welfare rolls by the turn of the century, and 130,000 more into "subsidized jobs." Sounds OK, until you realize there are currently close to 15 million individuals receiving AFDC. Until you notice that the increased costs necessary to induce this work would amount to something like $50 billion. Until you notice the projections showing that while these few adults trickle off

Dear Reader:

Welcome to the new edition of *The American Enterprise: A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture.*

The other new editors and I have made a lot of changes and would like to hear what you think. You'll find a reader response card loose inside your issue.

I also want to invite you to send contributions for a Letters-to-the-Editor section we'll be starting next issue. Our postal and electronic addresses are listed on the masthead opposite this page, and all brief correspondence will be considered.

Looking forward to an exciting enterprise.

Karl Zinsmeister

Editor in chief

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welfare and into jobs, 450,000 new households will go onto welfare for the first time, due to continuing family breakdown.

We actually don't have to guess about the likely effects of workfare+daycare efforts, because since 1981 well-developed test programs have been underway in places like Baltimore, San Diego, Arkansas, and Virginia. Careful studies of these pilot projects find workfare sadly inadequate. In the very best programs, the average increase in individual earnings per year thanks to workfare totals between $100 and $500—not exactly the foundation for a brave new world of financial independence. Eighty-two percent of all workfare participants are still on public assistance a year-and-a-half after entering their program, according to a 1994 study by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation. In addition, more than half of all welfare mothers become pregnant again out of wedlock after starting workfare.

WILL FUTURE AMERICANS SEE OUR ERA AS A TIME WHEN FRIGHTENING SOCIAL DISORDERS BURGEONED AND THEN FADED AWAY? OR AS THE PERIOD WHEN A LARGE AND PATHOLOGICAL UNDERCLASS BECAME A TRAGICALLY PERMANENT FEATURE OF SOCIETY?

If not workfare, then what?

The vastly superior alternative is, to put it in simple terms, family restoration. The only way to solve our welfare problem and the harsh social fallout it produces is to focus much more on preventing nonworkable single-parent families from forming in the first place. In the future we need to scramble in creative new ways to get low-income mothers and fathers married. We need cultural and economic encouragements to keep parents together in peaceful, intact homes. We need legal changes to discourage divorce and abandonment. In particular, we need measures to reduce the number of illegitimate births—because unmarried mothers are statistically much poorer, less mature, less likely to enter the workforce, and more likely to do a deficient job of raising their children than others.

Changes like these—focusing on family ties instead of income—would represent truly effective welfare reform. Workfare+daycare strategies, on the other hand, not only will fail to work as advertised, they actually address the wrong problem. The inadequacy of the single-parent home as a childrearing and economic unit is not going to be cured by artificially bolstering it with daycare and job services. Instead, the solution is to work to make the single-parent family scarce.

The first step to that goal is ending public financial aid that is conditioned on illegitimacy. We should stop increasing payments to current AFDC recipients when they have additional births out of wedlock. We should phase out for all future applicants any AFDC payments to unmarried mothers. We should instead enforce the legal responsibilities of fathers and relatives, and the liability of parents to support minor daughters who have babies. We should generously fund a string of new and expanded privately run maternity homes, in all shapes and flavors. We should make a giant effort to assist the adoption into loving homes of children whose parents can't or won't raise them. For a small number of hard-to-adopt or abandoned older children we should establish some progressive group homes and orphanages (for "social orphans" instead of the mortality orphans of the past)—modeled on highly successful and humane institutions like Boys Town and the Milton Hershey School.

In the words of *Washington Post* and *New Republic* writer Charles Krauthammer, "Don't reform welfare. Don't reinvent it. When it comes to illegitimacy, abolish it.... Two years and out, however well intentioned, misses the point. The point is to root out at its origin the most perverse government incentive program of all: The subsidy for illegitimacy. Why? Because illegitimacy is the royal road to poverty and all its attendant pathologies.... The only realistic way to attack this cycle...is by cutting off the oxygen that sustains the system: Stop the welfare checks."

We have no illusion as to the sufficiency of the average welfare candidate left to her own devices. That is why much of the rest of this issue of *The American Enterprise* is devoted to practical suggestions and models for nongovernmental charitable efforts that can, and would, step into the breach. Such ventures would actually provide individuals with much more benevolent forms of assistance, in a new world of sharply reduced government welfare.

Forswearing the disastrous miscalculations of existing welfare policy will take some nerve. But it will not require any foolhardy leap into dangerous unscouted territory. There were good works being done and lives being redirected in this country long before we had an overweening welfare apparatus. There may have been as much poverty in those days, but there was not nearly so much hopelessness. Given less suffocating competition from the state, these good works will once again be carried out in great number by a riotous parade of public but nongovernmental groups.

The issue, then, is comparatively simple: Do we have the imagination and confidence to re-envision such a world? And do our elected representatives have the requisite courage and wit to force the necessary innovations through the dead resistance of political selfishness and bureaucratic inertia? A much healthier future beckons. But getting there will require something akin to a national narcotic withdrawal. It won't be easy even if all the right and brave decisions are made. So the question becomes—how badly do we want to go clean?

We are not likely to get a better chance any time soon. And how we respond may dictate how Americans of the twenty-first century ultimately view our era. Will they look back and see a handful of decades when some frightening social disorders burgeoned and then faded away? Or will they see the origins of a large and dangerously pathological underclass that has become a tragic and apparently permanent feature of American society?

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Sidelights

Non-human Rights Department: **Charles Dills** of Liverpool, New York, says he's decided his lawn is sacred, and so when the town mowed his overgrown lawn, it violated the grass's right to life and his right to practice his religious devotion to the earth goddess **Gaia**: "If [the townfolk] want their souls endangered, then that's their choice," Dills said. ❧ The Americans with Disabilities Act is largely responsible for the explosion of cases at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, where the backlog stands at over 92,000 cases, double the 1991 figure. ❧ Overheard on Capitol Hill: "I can't wait for all the ex-Marines and Bible-thumpers to arrive in January to take over Congress. I sure wouldn't want them running my life, but I think they should run the country." ❧ The latest in self-description among the sexually bewildered (spotted on an Ivy League bulletin board): "The Association of *Gay, Lesbian, Bi-, and Questioning Students* invites you...." ❧ Our objective media: From Labor Day through October 20, 100 percent of the comments about incoming Speaker **Newt Gingrich** on the network evening news were negative, the Center for Media and Public Affairs reports · · · The *Columbia Journalism Review* recently revealed how the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, scared when its first-choice reviewer favorably received **Dinesh D'Souza**'s *Illiberal Education*, held the review until it could commission a negative one to run with it. Editor **Maxwell King** confessed that the unprecedented action would not have been taken if the first review had been negative. ❧ *Washington Post* business columnist **James K. Glassman** reports that the average household in the District of Columbia "spends an astonishing $800 a year on lottery tickets." ❧ The New America in black-and-white: **Rosa Parks** was robbed and beaten by a black youth who recognized her as a civil-rights hero but wanted money for crack · · · Eldon, Iowa, previously famous for the barn in **Grant Wood**'s painting *American Gothic*, now is famous for **Roseanne** and **Tom Arnold**'s enormous (and roofless) mansion.

Red China Today: PRC spokesman **Zhou Nan** warned in his first speech in English that Hong Kong should not start any "costly Eurosocialist, pay-as-you-go" welfare programs · · · China's economy now leads the world in growth, and officials report that the first three quarters of 1994 saw industrial production soar at 17 percent above year-earlier figures. ❧ Beginning December 1, Cuba has allowed shops to sell consumer goods at market prices; farmers were already permitted to sell produce at market prices after they filled state quotas. ❧ "*Quien es mas macho*, **Elmer Fudd** or **Bill Clinton**?"asked an e-mail questionnaire sent to government lawyers at the Securities and Exchange Commission; a long argument ensued on the SEC's computer system. ❧ Comic **Argus Hamilton**, commenting on the White House's faulty heating ducts: "Last winter the **Clintons** had to keep warm by burning all their old real estate records." ❧ The *Michigan Chronicle*, the state's largest black newspaper, endorsed Republican Gov. **John Engler**, praising his tax cuts and his welfare reforms and insisting that "today's blacks are less monolithic, politically and economically, than they have ever been." ❧ Woodstock Follies: ICR Research, a Pennsylvania polling firm, sampled 1,000 adults and projected that 1.3 million Americans will say they attended the original Woodstock—nearly three times the number who actually did · · · **The Rolling Stones**, who did not attend, have just launched their own line of credit cards, complete with tongue logo · · · *Washington Post* reviewer **David Nicholson** notes that more 18-year-olds voted for **Nixon** in 1968 than had used marijuana or LSD. ❧ At 1,000 bottles per year, North Korea's new leader, **Kim Jong Il**, is the world's biggest single buyer of Hennessy's top-of-the-line *Paradis* brandy, which goes for $630 a pop in Seoul. ❧ When a young constituent said Chicago's high-rise public housing projects should be torn down, Illinois Senator **Carol Moseley-Braun** replied, "I agree with you. I think we should blow them up. I think we should just admit this one [experiment] didn't work." Instead, she suggested, residents should receive vouchers that would let them find housing in the open market.

The **Mario Cuomo** Legacy? The *Wall Street Journal* reports that New York has become the first state to require that jury pools be drawn from welfare rolls, in addition to the usual driver's license and voter records. ❧ A documentary entitled, *Frosh: Nine Months in a Freshman Dorm*, picked up this comment from a black female student at Stanford: "I think if **Aristotle** were black, we wouldn't be reading him. Especially since he's always wrong." ❧ Texas police say 92-year-old **Viola Nelson Rizzo** was on her way to exchange a pair of shoes when she made a wrong turn and ended up on the tarmac of Houston Gulf Airport, where she crashed into a taxiing plane. ❧ **Food from the 'Hood** was started by 39 inner-city L.A. students shortly after the riots; its chief product is Straight Out 'the Garden, a creamy Italian dressing currently available in 2,000 supermarkets in 23 states. Grants and corporate sponsors helped the South-central garden project flower. —*S.W.*

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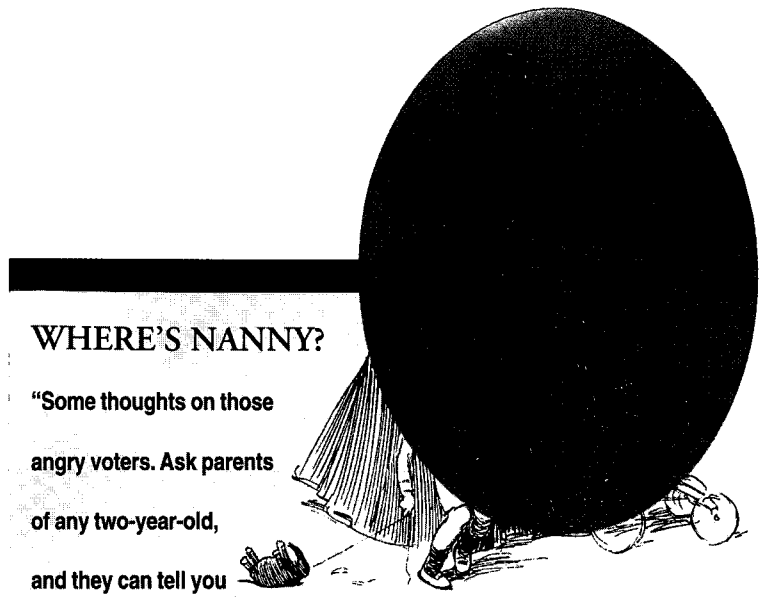

WHERE'S NANNY?

"Some thoughts on those angry voters. Ask parents of any two-year-old, and they can tell you about those temper tantrums: the stomping feet, the rolling eyes, the screaming. It's clear that the anger controls the child and not the other way around. It's the job of the parent to teach the child to control the anger and channel it in a positive way. Imagine a nation full of uncontrolled two-year-old rage. The voters had a temper tantrum last week.... Parenting and governing don't have to be dirty words. The nation can't be run by an angry two-year-old."

—Anchorman Peter Jennings on ABC Radio, November 14.

Unfriendly Skies

In Japan—land of the seamless business/government partnership, the planned economy, and the long-range perspective, according to James Fallows, Robert Reich, Chalmers Johnson, Ezra Vogel, Ira Magaziner, Clyde Prestowitz, and similar enthusiasts for state capitalism—the airfare of a discounted round-trip between Tokyo and Los Angeles on a U.S. carrier is now almost the same as the round-trip taxi fare between Tokyo and Narita Airport, from which the flights depart.

Meanwhile, newly opened Kansai airport is a disaster for the Japanese bureaucrats who built it and the Japanese companies and consumers who must live with it. It cost the Transport Ministry $15 billion to construct, and will lose at least a half-billion dollars in its first year of operation. This despite the world's highest landing fees ($10,000 for a single jumbo jet—about five times the rate of New York's Kennedy airport). Because of the high fees, and the high airfares they produce, less than half as many international flights are leaving from the new airport as was originally projected.

It's interesting to note that U.S. carriers now control 60 to 70 percent of all flight capacity in and out of Japan, even though Japanese travelers outnumber American travelers on those Pacific routes by six to one.

Remind us again, Ezra and Ira and Jim—what year is Japan going to be number one?

Deep Denial

In the run-up to the 1994 election, almost all of the press misinterpreted the mood of the electorate as uncomplicated "anti-incumbency." In the election day edition of the *Wall Street Journal*, for instance, James Perry explained that "it was a year in which 'experience' and 'incumbency' almost became dirty words"; he added that "voters' general disgust with the campaign tactics of both parties, leading to the rising interest in independent and third-party candidates, suggests an increasing breakdown of the traditional two-party system." Gerald Seib wrote of "voter apathy" and noted "the breakdown of party loyalties, and the absence of clearly defined rallying points."

In the actual event, though, turnout was up significantly from 1990, third-party candidates fizzled, and voters dropped a version of the neutron bomb—wiping out Democrats but leaving Republican incumbents standing.

For weeks, the nation's corps of liberal reporters, editors, and commentators were too stunned and distraught to make any sense of what had happened. Peter Jennings of ABC News could only wail a few days after the election that voters had acted like two-year-old children throwing a temper tantrum.

Unable to come to grips with voters' massive rejection of liberalism and its Democratic torchbearers, the establishment media's story lines typically fell into one of the following categories:

• *Mandate mystique:* Some journalists followed Hillary Clinton's assertion that the election results were opaque if not downright mysterious. ("I don't know that anybody can tell you exactly what it means," murmured the first lady.) Often-sensible *Washington Post* columnist William Raspberry, for instance, confessed his inability to find "clear-cut lessons" in the voters' decision to can "incumbent Democrats almost without regard for how well they served their constituencies."

• *Historical hopefulness:* Even before the balloting was over, broadcast analysts repeatedly recalled how earlier voters had installed a Republican Congress in 1946 in opposition to Democrat Harry Truman, only to restore Democratic control just two years later.

• *Fear mongering:* Many pundits purported to discover that "angry white men" had fueled the GOP victory. Dukakis campaign alum Susan Estrich, a *USA Today* columnist, and Deb Price, writing for the Gannett News Service, wrung their hands about "hate" and "fear." Steven Chapman of the *Chicago Tribune* speculated about strong-armed school prayer initiatives to come.

• *It's only the gridlock that needs fixing:* Instead of seeing a repudiation of President Clinton's policies in the returns, papers like the *New York Times* and *Milwaukee Journal* opined that the problem was simply that the president didn't deliver on his campaign promises. *Newsweek*'s Meg Greenfield offered a variation on this. "It's the policies and the programs, not the values, that need work," she suggested.

The possibility that the Democrats in control of the White House and Congress had delivered *too much* (that was unpalatable to the public) seems not to

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have occurred to these observers. Ann McFeatters of the Scripps Howard News Service, after acknowledging that the November 8 mood was anti-Democrat, not anti-incumbent, went on to suggest that "if Republicans do nothing but block and stall" during their turn at bat, they "could be in trouble when they next face their constituents." No hint that the recent vote might have been an endorsement of Republican government-blocking—on health care engineering, tax increases, and other Clinton initiatives—or that what a majority of citizens now want is less activism from Washington, not more.

◦ *Wishful thinking:* Media commentators quickly focused on "divisions" within the GOP. It became clear that the favorite caricature would be of Newt Gingrich (half man/half rabid dog!) and other "GOP bigmouths" from the party's "bomb-throwing congressional wing" (both characterizations courtesy of *Newsweek*) who would attempt "right-wing excesses" that newly admired "statesmen" in the Senate like Orrin Hatch and Bob Dole would have to squelch in order to keep the country decent.

Memo to ambitious college graduates who were able to "get" the election message recently delivered by the American people: Due to shortages, there seem to be openings in America's newsrooms for smart and fair-minded reporters and commentators. You see, the incumbents haven't been doing so well.

—Dale Buss
is a former Wall Street Journal *reporter.*

After the Fall

On the cover of its postelection issue, New York City's *Village Voice* trumpeted: "The Left...is finished. Murdered. Tuesday's returns were the final referendum on a liberal-left agenda that paid too much attention to its tiny narcissisms and too little attention to the needs of most Americans."

Free the Crickets

The *Washington Post* charted the outer frontiers of rightsspeak in cyberspace. Columnist Joel Garreau invited Internet reaction to the dilemma of an "amateur moral theologian" confronted with a cricket struggling in a spider's web. Judy Patterson, "a 20-year member of Amnesty International," replied, "What is the difference between (1) watching a cricket struggle to escape a spider's death and...(2) seeing a torture victim facing the torturer? ...As humans, this situation should make us take great reflection. I would assist the cricket to escape. Nature, as we all know, is impersonal. Must we be impersonal, too? When we are, we become inhuman!" From Alan Zuschlag at "the ever more hardheaded and pitiless World Bank" came the suggestion, "Why don't you just clean your window sill?"

Initiatives & Referenda Roundup

The big winner in the 1994 vote was the drive for term limits on state and federal legislators. Oklahoma passed term limits during its primary election and on November 8 voters passed term limits in Alaska, Idaho, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Colorado, Maine, and Nevada.

Today 22 states have enacted term limits for their federal and state legislators. In addition, Term Limits Everywhere, a project to enact term limits at the local level, passed term limits in 270 cities, towns, and counties. Term limits lost only in Utah, where the measure included a controversial election runoff provision that was opposed by the Republican party and conservative activists.

Social-issue initiatives were a mixed bag as voters in California passed Proposition 187 denying government benefits to children of illegal aliens, and anti-gay-rights initiatives failed in Oregon and Idaho. Oregon also approved the nation's first law to permit physician-assisted suicides.

Voters continued to be tough on crime, hot for the death penalty, and supportive of victims' rights. Coloradans voted to toughen bail requirements for convicted felons. Utah, Ohio, Illinois, Idaho, and Alaska also passed measures to improve the treatment of victims at trial and parole hearings.

California enacted a tough three-strikes-and-you're-out constitutional amendment. Oregon passed three measures to toughen sentencing, and the state legislature can only reduce these tougher sentences with a two-thirds vote. Oregon also voted to direct its state prison system to put inmates to work.

Ohio shortened the appeals process for death penalty cases. In Alaska, over 70 percent of the voters chose to prohibit any attempts to restrict citizens' rights to own guns.

Taxes continued to be an important issue. In Massachusetts, proponents of changing the present flat-rate income tax to a more "progressive" graduated-rate system lost 70–30 on their fifth attempt to change the state constitution. Ohioans voted 66–34 to repeal a tax hike on soft drinks and to constitutionally prohibit other attempts to tax food at the wholesale level. Arkansas also voted to repeal a soft drink tax.

Nevada voted 78–22 for an initiative that will require a two-thirds vote of the legislature for

STRANGELY UNREPORTED NEWS

House Speaker Tom Foley and the hoary chairman of the Government Operations Committee, Jack Brooks (D-Tex.), were among several gun-controlling clay pigeons blasted out of the congressional sky by the sharpshooting members of the largest Bill of Rights lobby in America, the 3.4 million-member strong National Rifle Association. The NRA also played a critical role in the defeat of New York Governor Mario Cuomo, who once dismissed foes of a mandatory seat-belt law as "NRA hunters who drink beer, don't vote, and lie to their wives about where they were all weekend." (Memo to Mario: They vote.) Unlike the "grass-roots" organizations that operate out of Northern Virginia P.O. boxes, the NRA was a flesh and blood and bumpersticker presence in these races, though the major media, so quick to proclaim 1992 the Year of the Woman when a handful of middle-class feminists won elections, have not been heard to declare 1994 the Year of the Rural White Guys Defending Their Precious Second Amendment Liberties.

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any tax hike. Arizona passed a similar measure in 1992.

California rejected a gas tax to fund public transportation (81–19), and Colorado rejected an additional cigarette tax. In Arizona, a cigarette tax to fund health care for the poor squeaked by with 50.6 percent of the vote.

Running against this trend, measures to require a vote of the people to raise taxes were defeated in Montana, Oregon, and Missouri. But the measure in Missouri, stripped of its retroactive sections, will be introduced by Republicans in the state legislature. And in Montana, competing anti-tax initiatives divided taxpayer groups, but the two camps—Republican activists and Perot supporters—have now agreed to join forces in 1995 to push a requirement that any tax hike receive two-thirds of the vote. The Oregon measure was terribly worded and ultimately swamped by the teachers' unions.

The story of 1994 initiatives is a continuation of 1992. Voters like term limits for all politicians, they are hesitant to raise taxes even in the name of fairness or tax reform, they oppose grandiose public investment schemes, they want criminals treated more harshly and crime victims treated with more respect. Voters remain wary of radical reform and easily vote "no" on measures they do not understand or have questions about.

If Clinton had paid attention to the anti-big government initiatives that passed in 1992, his party might not have lost 52 House seats, 11 governorships, 9 senators (counting the party switch of Sen. Richard Shelby of Alabama), and 468 state legislature seats.

*—**Grover Norquist***
is president of Americans for Tax Reform.

Selective Disapproval

Nearly half of the faculty of the Maxwell School of Public Affairs at Syracuse University recently signed a strongly worded statement of "regret and disapproval" concerning the university's presentation of an honorary degree to Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. At the October awards ceremony "civil forms of protest" were employed to "reject" the selection. No complaints from the professoriate, however, over the bestowal of another honorary degree at the same event to Henry Cisneros, currently under investigation for allegedly misleading the FBI about large cash payments to an ex-mistress.

Don't Blame I.Q.

In order to avoid acknowledging the perversity of feminist and sexual liberationist ideologies that underlie our current welfare debacle, there seems no gargoyle too grisly for intellectuals to embrace. The latest gambit blames the travails of underclass families on deficiencies in intelligence.

Throughout the history of capitalism, upward mobility has sprung from the willingness of poor men—spurred by the demands of the family provider role—to work harder and more faithfully than the men above them on the economic ladder. If they were less intelligent, they worked at more menial jobs from an earlier age. But work effort has always been the critical force in upward mobility. As is shown by the successful onrush of immigrants into service employment, retailing, and domestic labor, there is no disappearance of this kind of opportunity in current society. Indeed, as a nation grows richer, demand for menial services will tend to increase. In an information economy, niches and specializations proliferate; there is no congealing into some monocultural job market based on testable intelligence. The most persistent complaint of small businesses seeking employees today is not low I.Q. but low motivation, punctuality, and diligence.

Any government policies or cultural norms that inhibit family formation and work effort will therefore promote social stratification far more surely and remorselessly than any differences in raw intelligence. Yet now we are being asked to ascribe the grim condition of low-income families under the welfare state to an inexorable unfolding of the impact of intelligence quotients. This despite the

...YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR SCALES

In October of 1994, Ithaca, New York, celebrated its second annual "size acceptance month" dedicated to "body weight liberation." The event was marked by a "speak out" celebration of weight diversity, workshops at Cornell University, and a downtown event where the public was invited to bring scales and "other oppressive dieting paraphernalia" to be destroyed with sledgehammers on the city commons. In the end, city regulations and liability worries trumped liberationist angst, as "concerns for public safety" caused the scale-smashing to be limited to just three units. "More symbolic than cathartic," commented the local paper. Mayor Benjamin Nichols says he's received more calls about the city's size acceptance proclamation than for anything else he's done. Organizers report the measure has already been copied by St. Paul, Minnesota, and that the movement is expected to, uh, spread.

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fact that among blacks, for instance, female earnings have followed a quite different path than male earnings. This despite the sufficiency of familial and cultural differences in explaining most variations in economic performance by Asians, blacks, and whites around the globe. (This global evidence is described in magisterial detail and authority in a series of books by Thomas Sowell. These books are unlisted in the bibliography of *The Bell Curve,* the recent tome on intelligence by Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray.)

In understanding the problems of the underclass, I.Q. is much less significant than sex roles and family arrangements. Over the last three decades, a tripling of state subsidies to single women and a new feminist ethic and political agenda have combined to make millions of lower-class males economically and domestically redundant in the United States and Europe. Reinvolving these lower-class males in productive society should be the prime goal of U.S. social policy. One necessary step is reduction of the welfare payments that presently usurp the male roles of father and provider. Another will be retrenchment of affirmative action rules and sex preferences that have, for example, caused black women to heavily outnumber black men in colleges, universities, and instructional facilities (even nullifying the previous black male advantage in athletic scholarships and military careers).

When it comes to variations in intelligence, the most persistent and striking pattern is actually not the magpie mosaic of races but the relatively unmentionable gaps between the test performances of men and women. Although the mean I.Q.s of males and females are similar, males persistently outperform women in the advanced logical and mathematical skills crucial in the upper reaches of an information economy. For example, in the quantitative aptitude section of the Graduate Record Examination, a score that puts a woman in the 90th percentile among women puts a man in the 62nd percentile among men.

Rather than driving young men into the dead ends of violence and crime via welfare payments to single mothers, policymakers should convert the huge government training and education programs into single-sex classes that actively encourage economically withdrawn males to apply the aggressiveness, mechanical aptitude, and mathematical skills that have long sustained the male provider role.

None of this means that women should be denied any opportunities to work. Indeed, women worked far harder in an agricultural society than they do today, and their superior verbal and social skills are indispensable in contemporary societies. But the political culture must acknowledge that women and men are different (including showing different varieties of intelligence), that men and women approach work in different ways, and that the most serious underproductivity problem in America today exists among lower-class males. Government programs that replace men as breadwinners and social practices that waste or discourage inherent male talents are pushing low-skill males to society's margins today. This is seriously damaging the well-being of American families and consequently yielding greater social inequality.

It would be ironic and deeply unfortunate if, amidst the profuse crocodile tears of liberals who built all the structures that make productivity and loyalty superfluous in lower-class families, we were to assign our contemporary problems of underclass culture to God and his distribution of I.Q. That would foolishly let the work-blocking, family-blasting welfare state off the hook, at the very moment of its otherwise complete disgrace.

—George Gilder

has written numerous books on social and economic issues.

MARION BARRY ON THE WELFARE MESS

On welfare: "Somebody [from the GOP has talked] about how the welfare system has enslaved the recipients. I agree with that. . . . So you find that Republicans are talking about ways of reform that are going to help us to empower the people. And not having a baby is an empowerment in itself because it's so rare now among teenagers to find those who have not had a baby."

On welfare mothers: "You start out with the philosophy that you can have as many babies as you want...if you don't ask the government to take care of them. But when you start asking the government to take care of them, the government now ought to have some control over you.... Now if you don't want the government in your business then you don't have to [ask the government for] any money."

On teenage pregnancy: "This is really a community problem in the sense that it's a value system problem where young ladies feel, for whatever reason...they want to get pregnant. Some of them get pregnant deliberately and they just want to have a baby for a lot of psychological reasons."

On sexual behavior: "I have a problem with condoms without the prerequisite educational and counseling functions [that] go with it.... There has to be some education about what sex is all about. Even with a condom, if you don't use it properly or don't understand why it's being used, you know you've got pregnancy, you've got AIDS."

—from a Nov. 20 Washington Post *interview with Sally Quinn.*

Emergency Art

And you thought midnight basketball was an unusual way to attack crime: National Endowment for the Arts Chair Jane Alexander, barnstorming for more government funding of the arts, points out that after the 1991 riots in Los Angeles, there was a project to bring *ballet* to burned-out neighborhoods. In a creative bit of slush-fundery, the effort was paid for not by the NEA but by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). Were there too few earthquakes, wildfires, and other disaster in 1991, or does FEMA just have too much money to spend?

Speaking of the NEA, this fall's Senate decision to cut 5 percent out of the 1995 budget was severely watered down in House-Senate conference. The conference committee decided late in 1994 to go with a weaker House proposal that cuts the NEA budget by less than 2 percent.

Rosa Lee, Tragic Offspring of the Welfare State

In the fall of 1994, the *Washington Post* writer published a lengthy profile by Leon Dash of a woman named Rosa Lee Cunningham and her children. Cunningham is a long-term welfare recipient, a drug pusher, an addict, a prostitute, and a thief. She has 12 criminal convictions on her record. Of her eight offspring, who have five different fathers among them, all but two have been in jail. She admits she never cared if her children did their homework, or even if they attended school. The one substantial thing she reports teaching them is how to become a serious shoplifter. Cunningham spends most of her money on drugs (sometimes shooting heroin with a daughter), and steals anything she can to make more money. One of her latest scams is to acquire tranquilizers with her Medicaid card and then sell

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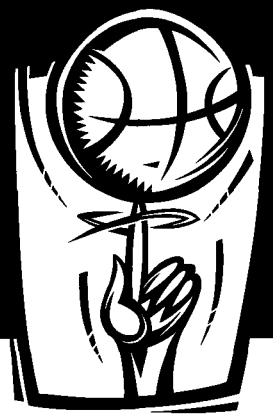
BARKLEY'S BITE

Charles Barkley, the irrepressible star forward of the NBA's Phoenix Suns, has announced that in 1998, after he retires from basketball, he plans to run for governor of Alabama. As a Republican. "People just assume because you're black and from the South that you're a Democrat," Barkley said. "But I don't think like Bill Clinton does, that you should penalize people for being successful."



them as a cheap high for methadone addicts.

Comments *Post* columnist Richard Cohen: Rosa Lee Cunningham "is not some statistical rarity. She's all too typical a member of the criminal and dysfunctional underclass that lives, more or less, on our buck. Among other things, she lives in publicly subsidized housing ($120 a month in rent) and has dipped in and out of various public assistance programs—welfare, food stamps, Medicaid, emergency grants of one sort or another and a Social Security program for the disabled that now gives her $437 a month." Cohen asks whether "what we feel we owe her—the various welfare programs that sustain her—has not crippled her and made things worse for society in general." Above all, he marvels at the callous indifference of the modern welfare state to the actual welfare of its citizens. "Even after she confessed to crime after crime on page one of the *Washington Post,* even after her children were photographed using drugs, not a single member of the vast city-federal bureaucracy dropped by her home to enforce the law," Cohen reports. "Deviancy, of which Rosa Lee is the virtual personification...has been defined out of existence," Cohen concludes. And no one in the government seems to be concerned.

Poorly Understood Poverty

This fall, the Census Bureau reported there were 39.3 million poor persons in the United States. In December, a stacked liberal panel of the National Academy of Sciences is expected to release a report that broadens the definition of poverty and finds even greater numbers of "poor" Americans. Both reports are dead wrong.

To the typical citizen, saying someone is "poor" implies he lacks a decent place to live, is short on food or clothing, or perhaps that he needs a car to get to work and doesn't have one. By this common sense standard, very few of the 39 million "poor persons" identified by the Census Bureau are, in fact, poor.

We can learn a lot about the Census poverty report by comparing it to other government reports that meticulously monitor the actual physical conditions of so-called poor Americans. These reports show that:

- In 1991 nearly 40 percent of all "poor" households owned their own homes.
- Nearly 60 percent of poor households have more than two rooms per person. Nearly 60 percent have air conditioning.
- Sixty-four percent of "poor" households own a car; 14 percent own two or more cars.
- Fifty-six percent own microwave ovens. Around a quarter have an automatic dishwasher; nearly one-third own a separate, stand-alone freezer.
- Ninety-one percent have a color television; 29 percent own two or more.
- "Poor" Americans live in larger homes, eat more meat, and are more likely to own cars and dishwashers than the *general* population in western Europe. A typical "poor" American has twice as much living space as the *average* Japanese and four times as much as the average Russian.

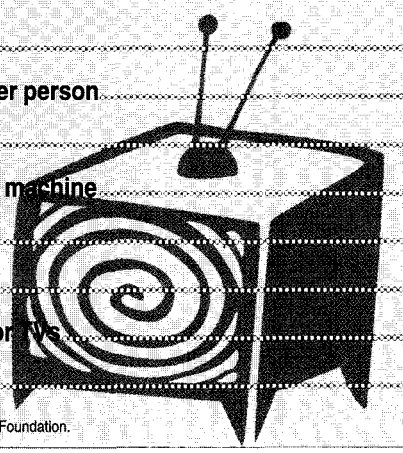
Hunger advocacy groups warn relentlessly that tens of millions of Americans are short of food and chronically malnourished. But the Agriculture Department, measuring actual food intake, finds the average consumption of protein, vitamins, and minerals by poor children is virtually identical to that of upper-middle-class children. Poor kids consume, on average, 211 percent of the recommended daily allowance of protein, the most expensive nutriment.

Today's poor children are super-nourished by any conceivable standard. Upon reaching age 19, the average poor boy will, in fact, be one inch taller and 10 pounds heavier than the G.I.s who stormed the beaches of Normandy in World War II. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reports that the top nutrition-related health problem facing poor Americans is now obesity.

The truth is, the Census poverty numbers just don't add up. In 1993, federal, state, and local governments spent $324 billion providing cash, food, housing, medical care, and social services to low-income Americans. This amounts to about $8,000 for each "poor" person identified by the Census. It is not possible to spend that much money and still end up with tens of millions of the ill-housed, semi-starving unfortunates who haunt liberal imaginations.

So what's wrong with Census's figures? Well, in determining family income, the Bureau seriously undercounts cash, and ignores noncash, welfare benefits. (More on this in Indicators, "Incredible Shrinking Incomes.") For example, if a family received $5,000 in cash welfare, $4,000 in food stamps, $6,000 in housing subsidies, and $6,000 in government-funded medical care, Census typically only picks up (by its own estimates) about three-quarters of the cash welfare, and it doesn't consider *any* of the noncash benefits. The bureau would record the family's income as less

Living Standards of "Poor" Households



Own home	40%
Two or more rooms per person	58%
Have air conditioning	60%
Own clothes washing machine	57%
Own microwave	56%
Own color TV	91%
Own two or more color TVs	29%
Own car	64%

Source: Robert Rector, The Heritage Foundation.

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BILL CLINTON ON FAMILY VALUES

On the campaign trail, 1992: "Frankly, I'm fed up with politicians in Washington lecturing the rest of us about family values. Our families have values, but our government doesn't."

State of the Union Address, 1994: "Our problems go way beyond the reach of government. They're rooted in the loss of values, in the disappearance of work and the breakdown of our families."

than $4,000, even though the total aid received by the family was more than five times that amount. Since most welfare aid is now delivered in a noncash form, it's easy to see how the government can spend and spend without having a discernible effect on the Census's official poverty count.

But if the physical living standards of officially poor Americans are much higher than usually claimed, does this mean the War on Poverty was a success? No. And to understand why, we must distinguish between two types of poverty: material and behavioral. Material poverty involves a lack of the physical goods we have already discussed: food, shelter, etc. Behavioral poverty, by contrast, refers to a breakdown of the virtues that lead to stable character, healthy marriages, and self-sufficiency. Behavioral poverty shows up in an eroded work ethic, lack of personal ambition, failure to control one's children, increased single parenthood, and law-breaking.

While real material poverty is rare in the United States behavioral poverty is exploding. Take a tour of public housing in any major city. You won't find spindly Oliver Twists bent over with rickets. Instead, you'll run into big, strong teenagers trading gunfire as they steal each other's $200 sneakers and designer jackets.

The central problem of the War on Poverty is that prolific spending designed to reduce material poverty has spurred a vast increase in behavioral poverty. The harmful effects of welfare in generating dependence and single-parent families are now widely accepted, even by President Clinton.

Growing behavioral poverty now constrains welfare's ability to raise material living standards. The famous Seattle-Denver Income Maintenance Experiment revealed that each extra welfare dollar given to low-income families causes a reduction in work earnings of 80 cents. The bottom line: Welfare is ineffective in boosting net incomes, but very effective in replacing work with dependence. The more we spend, the more persons in need of aid we create.

The improved material living standards of less affluent Americans should be credited mostly to economic growth, not the welfare state. Before the War on Poverty was ever launched, the portion of the U.S. population that was poor fell from 32 percent in 1950 to 16 percent in 1966.

Since the mid-1960s, material living conditions have continued to improve, but at the bottom of the income ladder the improvement has been based more on government hand-outs than work and earnings. Overall, the trillions of dollars of War on Poverty spending have failed to increase material living standards much over what would have happened without any intervention. President Johnson's War on Poverty merely disrupted natural economic and social progress, and replaced the historic trend of improvement based on self-sufficiency with a new pattern of splintered families and dependence.

—Robert Rector
is a poverty analyst at the Heritage Foundation.

Chinese Health Care

The Chinese legislature cracked down further on population growth by passing the Maternal and Infantile Health Care Law to prevent "inferior births." Spokesmen say the law could prevent the births of millions of disabled persons annually. Fetuses carrying hereditary diseases or deemed to be abnormal must be aborted, and "those suffering from mental and contagious diseases will have to defer their marriages when the diseases are serious and likely to affect others." Testing to determine a fetus's sex was also banned, a tacit acknowledgement that China's restrictions on births often lead to girls being aborted.

Who's Buying?

As much more sensibly sized efforts are launched in 1995 to deal with problems of health care costs and coverage, Americans may come to realize that one of the main reasons medical costs have risen so much faster than inflation is because the people ordering most of the goods are not the same people who pay most of the bills.

In the case of Medicaid and Medicare, as David Henderson outlines in the item following, consumers have hardly any incentive to be thrifty, to choose lower-cost treatments, or to wait out common illnesses at home instead of hurrying off to doctors' offices, because the government picks up almost all bills. Most Medicaid and Medicare patients don't even have a clue what the actual cost of the treatment they've just received is, so obviously they aren't doing any comparison shopping.

In cases involving private health insurance, the people racking up the expenses and the people paying the bills are only marginally less insulated from one another. Thanks mostly to an accident of tax shelter history, the bulk of private health insurance today is paid for by employers, instead of being purchased directly by employees. This effectively makes most Americans not much concerned with, or even attentive to, what's happening to costs.

Steve Forbes, who has experimented in useful ways with the company health insurance programs at Forbes, Inc., recently illustrated the problem with a helpful analogy:

"WOW... I WONDER HOW MUCH THIS DOCTOR MAKES?"

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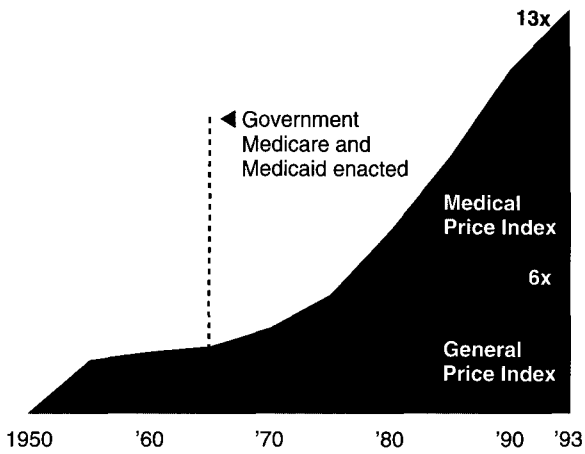
General Inflation vs. Medical Inflation



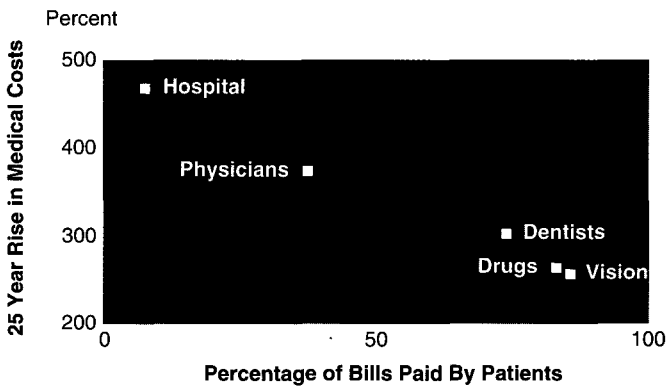
Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Imagine if every time you went to the supermarket you gave the cash register receipt to your employer, who then submitted it to the insurance company for a claim. What would happen to food prices? They would skyrocket, because you wouldn't care whether a bottle of soda cost $1, $10, or $100.

In the long-run, the only way to rein in fast-rising health care costs without resorting to obnoxious controls or rationing is to make consumers and patients more cost-conscious. That means shifting control of medical insurance-and-expense budgets away from governments and employers and handing it over to individuals and families. Once Americans see and feel for themselves exactly where their medical dollars are going, they'll be much more careful and informed about their spending. Think about the way grocery shoppers meter out their food budgets (with the result that there is no more efficient, tightly margined industry in America today than food retailing).

Updating the findings of a five-year Rand Corporation study from the 1980s, Harvard health economist Joseph Newhouse estimates that simply requiring families to pay the first $2,000 of their medical expenses themselves (with everything beyond that level fully paid by the insurance carrier) would cause total national health care expenditures to fall by a stunning 30 percent. Instead of spending over 14 percent of our GDP on medical care, as we currently do, we'd devote only about 10 percent.

Medical Expenses Soar When Someone Else is Paying



Source: *Why Health Care Costs Too Much*, the Cato Institute.

Even in a very rich society, there is only so much manna to go around. And when one dollar out of every seven...or six...or five is going to medical expenses, there is that much less left to fulfill all of our other needs and aspirations. If Americans were controlling their health care expenditures themselves—for example, through a combination of tax-credit-encouraged catastrophic private insurance plus medical savings accounts—we know for a fact that they wouldn't be spending nearly so much in this area.

So why not let them?

There Is a Health Care Crisis: It's Spelled G-o-v-e-r-n-m-e-n-t.

When President Clinton gave his main reasons for wanting to reform health care, he conspicuously failed to include a desire to cut the growth of government funding for Medicare and Medicaid.

And yet government spending on health care has risen much faster than private spending. Between 1970 and 1991, Medicare and Medicaid grew by 427 percent, adjusted for inflation. During those same years, private spending rose 165 percent—less than half as fast as the government costs.

When Medicare was established in 1965, the House Ways and Means Committee forecast that annual spending for hospital care under the program would total $9.6 billion by 1990. The actual figure turned out to be $67 billion. Why has government spending grown so fast? Because when people spend other people's money, they spend much more than when they spend their own. If, when I have a sore throat, I have to pay $50 out of my own pocket, there's a good chance that I'll take an aspirin and do a lot of gargling; but if I have to pay just $10 and someone else pays the other $40, then the next stop is my doctor's office.

Under Medicare, once older Americans have paid some small deductibles and co-payments, all of what they spend on health care is other people's money. Addi-

GOOD GUYS VS. BAD GUYS

Self-righteousness is always a danger for conservatives—who actually like words like *virtue, morals, and excellence*—and the establishment media have scrupulously exposed such pridefulness on the right. But one media maven thinks today's greatest sins of self-righteousness are on the left. *Washington Post* editorial page editor Meg Greenfield says the "worst affliction" of the Democrat party's leadership is "an inability to imagine the basis of legitimate, morally worthy opposition to themselves.... Too many of them have gotten themselves into the politically dreadful position of seeing their function as that of virtuously lecturing other people about what they should do." The party, Greenfield concludes, has become "overconfident and slipshod and, in terms of the many gut values that rightly move people, just a little contemptuous."

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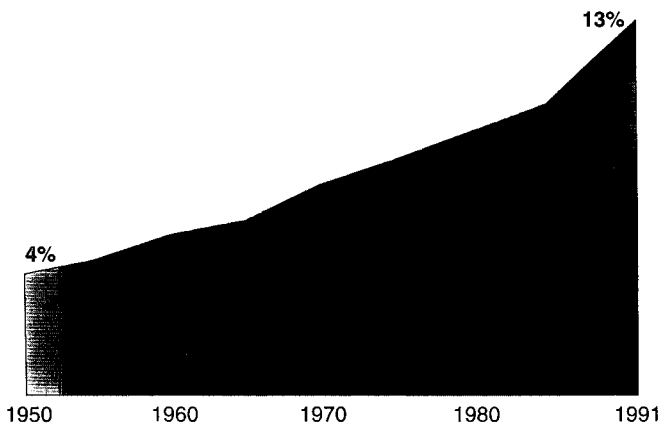
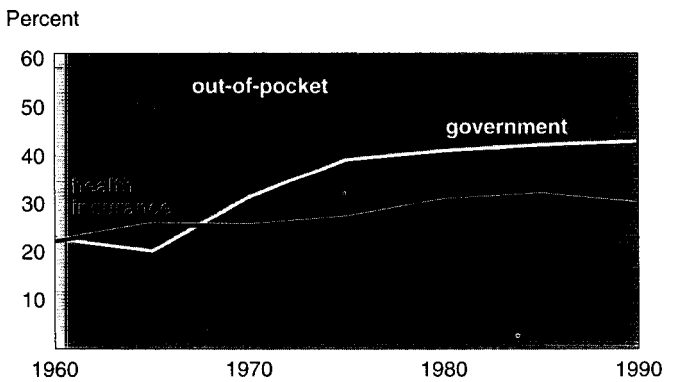
Health Care Costs as a Percentage of GDP



Source: U.S. Health Care Financing Administration.

Slipping the Medical Bill to Uncle Sam



Source: *Why Health Care Costs Too Much*, the Cato Institute.

tional expenditures are literally free to the consumer. To make matters worse, most Medicare recipients buy so-called Medigap policies that pay their deductibles, co-payments, and extra expenses so that even the first dollars spent under Medicare are "free." Adding to this insanity are the Baucus Amendments of 1980, which require insurers who provide Medigap to cover all but $100 of these deductibles and co-payments.

Medicaid, the program of subsidized medical care for poor people, works similarly. Because the vast majority of Medicaid beneficiaries pay literally zero in co-payments and deductibles, all the medical care that the program provides for them is entirely free. Between 1980 and 1988, Medicaid spending increased by "only" about 10 percent per year. But laws passed in the late 1980s and in the budget agreement of 1990 relaxed standards of eligibility for Medicaid, turning it from a relatively bare-bones medical program for poor people on welfare into one that covered illegal immigrants, people with AIDS, and many more. The growth of Medicaid spending leapt upward: from 1989 to 1993, the annual increases were 13 percent, 19 percent, 26 percent, 29 percent, and 21 percent.

Yet, for all his stated concern about government health care spending, President Clinton refused to propose any cost-sharing measures—mechanisms that would make beneficiaries pay *something* for using medical care. Nor did any of the other major proposals competing with ClintonCare contain cost-sharing measures for the out-of-control government programs.

Here are some simple, sure solutions to the explosion of government health care costs. They are listed from easiest to hardest politically.

1. Repeal the Baucus Amendments so that people who buy Medigap are not forced to buy first-dollar coverage. That way, they have a bigger incentive to avoid going to a doctor when they get mildly sick.

2. Repeal the recent changes in law that have made millions of extra beneficiaries eligible for free care under Medicaid.

3. Increase deductibles and co-payments for Medicare and Medicaid.

4. "Voucherize" Medicare and Medicaid. Beneficiaries could use their voucher to buy private health insurance and could make their own tradeoff between co-payments and deductibles on the one hand and premiums on the other.

5. Repeal Medicare and Medicaid. Let the future elderly buy their own health care coverage as others do, with the aid of tax incentives and limited subsidies.

—David R. Henderson
is the former senior health economist of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

Immigration Notes

The *Village Voice*'s Michael Tomasky opposed California's Proposition 187, which denies state benefits to illegal immigrants. But he insists that the fact that over one-quarter of the state's Latino voters, and over half the black and Asian voters supported Prop. 187 is "the single most interesting statistic to emerge from the elections."

Hispanic Republican Linda Chavez also opposed Prop. 187, but she said demands for entitlements for illegal aliens "will further fuel a backlash that may slam the door on legal immigrants, too."

On the East Coast, immigrant parents who want their children taught in English are teaming up with Republicans in the New Jersey statehouse to fight for the right not to enroll their kids in bilingual classes. Joseph Ramos of the New Jersey Bilingual Council disapproves: "Why would we require parents unfamiliar with our educational system to make such a monumental decision when we as bilingual educators... are trained to make those decisions?"

Even in Israel, where immigration is a sacred tradition, rumblings over the economic and cultural costs of immigration are beginning to be heard. The chairman of the Jewish Agency's immigration and absorption department, Uri Gordon, is campaigning to amend Israel's Law of Return to restrict immigration.

Education Report

✍ This fall, Dartmouth began including on students' transcripts their grade, the size of the class, and the median grade. Physics Professor Delo Mook objected to pitting "one student against another."

✍ The average American teenager spends only 5.6 hours a week on homework, although student achievement goes up with additional time spent on homework.

✍ When the Half Moon Bay, California school board consider abolishing homework, the local paper applauded: "It is unfair to grade students on their home life."

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EDITED BY KARL ZINSMEISTER

Indicators

The Working Poor?

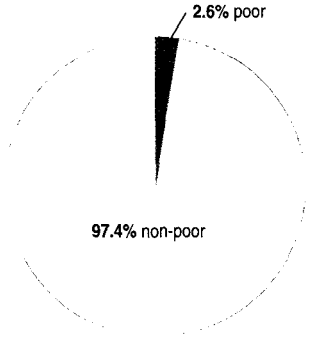
People who toil at full-time jobs shouldn't end up in poverty. That is a widely shared sentiment among Americans. Which is why aid for the "working poor" is a perennial favorite subject for politicians, and the rhetorical centerpiece of most social welfare legislation.

The fact that there are "people working full-time and still in poverty turns on its head the American work ethic and everything we're trying to accomplish in this country," Labor Secretary Robert Reich tells the *Wall Street Journal*.

But there is a problem with this strong focus on the working poor: There actually aren't very many of them.

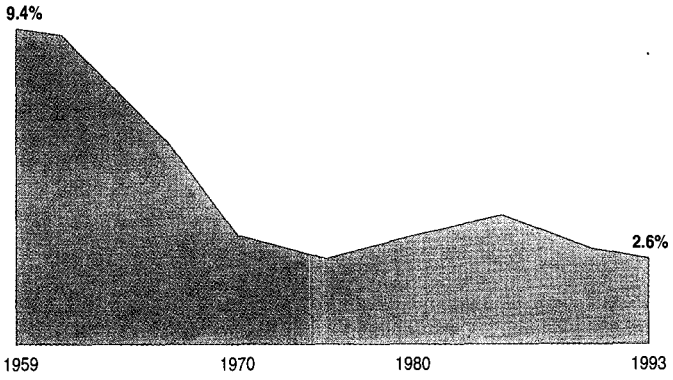
Bureau of the Census figures show that among people who worked year-round, full-time in 1992, only 2.6 percent ended up poor.

ECONOMIC STATUS OF PERSONS WHO WORK YEAR-ROUND, FULL-TIME



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1992 data.

FAMILIES WITH A YEAR-ROUND, FULL-TIME WORKER IN POVERTY



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

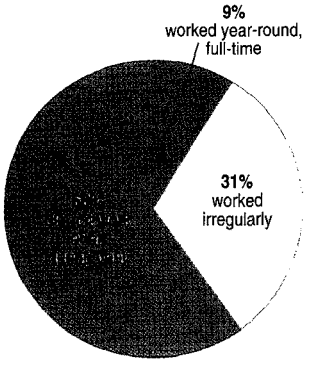
And even that is an overestimate. The Census Bureau's definition of full-time year-round work "is not to be taken literally," pointed out American University economist Brad Schiller not long ago in the *Investor's Business Daily*. About one-fourth of the people in this category, Schiller reports, work for just somewhere between 26 and 50 weeks of the year.

And then there are the self-employed. A 1987 Congressional Budget Office study showed that nearly forty percent of all full-time workers who report poverty level incomes to the Census Bureau are self-employed. It is quite likely that rather than being physically needy most of these are in the midst of an off business cycle (for instance, a farmer or small businessman in a bad year) or else are just, shall we say, forgetting about some of their income.

If the self-employed and those who labor only part of the year are excluded, **the number of poor full-time workers drops to "significantly less than a million"** according to Schiller. This out of 23 million poor adults, and 121 million total employed workers, in 1993.

America's major poverty problem isn't the working poor. It's the *non*-working poor. 60 percent of all poor adults—nearly 15 million people—didn't work a single day in 1993.

WORK PATTERNS OF POOR ADULTS

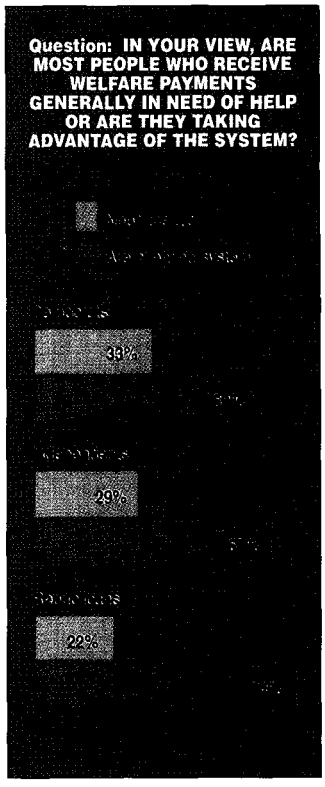


Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1992 data.

Wide Public Support for a Serious Welfare Downsizing

A recent Gallup Poll revealed remarkably broad and deep public support for a major pruning of the nation's welfare system. "Americans are skeptical about the needs of most welfare recipients, and want to see reductions in government aid," write Gallup analysts Leslie McAneny and David Moore in their report.

The scientific survey produced two particularly important findings: First, **68 percent of all Americans believe most current welfare recipients are just taking advantage of the system.** (Only 28 percent believe most recipients genuinely need assistance.) Second, **a majority of the public wants to see the amount of money spent on welfare either cut** (44 percent) **or eliminated altogether** (10 percent).



Whites and blacks alike express dismay over current patterns (fully 40 percent of all blacks want welfare funding reduced or ended—see details on page 109).

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Nor is there any gender gap: **Women** (53 percent) and **men** (55 percent) are equally supportive of a decrease or termination of benefits. As a matter of fact, even 40 percent of self-described **liberals** favor a decrease or end of welfare funding. (Only 16 percent of liberals want to spend more on welfare. Fifty-eight percent of liberals believe most current recipients are cheating the system, versus 40 percent who believe they need the aid.)

There are other striking revelations elsewhere in the survey. By 68 to 27 percent, for instance, Americans call for complete replacement of the current system with one designed specifically to get people off the dole. By a similar margin of more than two-to-one they favor proposals that would cut off benefits to those unable to find jobs or become self-sufficient within two years. By a four-to-one spread, the public favors financing any new system by cutting existing benefits. (Eliminating all welfare aid to legal immigrants for at least their first five years in the country is one popular choice—69 percent in favor, 28 percent opposed.)

Just **how far the public has travelled on this subject over the last two decades** can be seen by comparing these latest findings to a similar poll conducted by Gallup for Potomac Associates back in 1972:

Historical Trend: WELFARE SPENDING SHOULD BE...

	1972	1994
Increased	31%	10%
Reduced or ended altogether	24%	54%

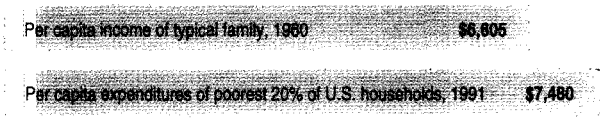
Source: May 1972 and April 1994 Gallup Polls

A less detailed but more recent poll testing support for welfare cuts was taken by Gallup on November 28–29, 1994. It showed **support for reductions shooting up even further during the run-up to the fall elections. Fully 79 percent of all Americans said at the end of November that they supported the welfare prunings** called for in the Republican "Contract with America." The November survey also confirmed that sentiment for welfare reform is extraordinarily broad, with even welfare recipients themselves accepting the need for changes.

INCREDIBLE SHRINKING INCOMES

It isn't widely appreciated that the poorest 20 percent of all Americans today actually have a higher level of economic consumption than was enjoyed by a *typical* family as recently as the early 1960s.

CONSTANT 1991 DOLLARS



Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Bureau of the Census

One reason this improvement isn't more commonly known is because there is an enormous amount of underreporting of true income, particularly welfare income, within our current economy. Results from the government's meticulously collected Consumer Expenditure Survey and other sources show that poor Americans currently spend and consume two to three times as much in a year as they report in income.

If you're wondering how this can be, the main answer is that the income totals are not accurate. The Census Bureau openly acknowledges that its income surveys pick up only 72 percent of all AFDC payments, for instance. Lots of underground income never appears on the books. Illegal earnings aren't reported to the Bureau at all.

PORTION OF VARIOUS WELFARE PAYMENTS MISSED BY OFFICIAL INCOME MEASURES
(Census Bureau's own estimates)

AFDC	28%
SSI	11%
Other public assistance	14%
Unemployment compensation	20%

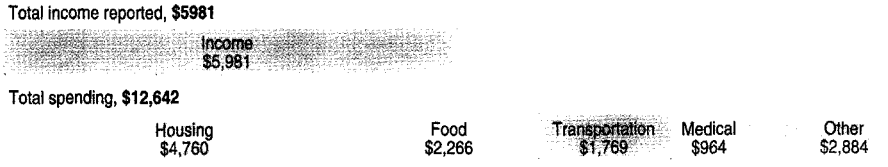
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

A rare in-depth survey of individual poor households done by researcher Kathryn Edin in the late 1980s found that not one of a sample of 50 welfare mothers residing in Chicago was living entirely off her public assistance allotment, and that not one was reporting all her outside income to the welfare department. The average mother's unreported cash—gleaned from friends and relatives, underground work, drug sales and other vice—amounted to fully as much again as her AFDC check.

The lesson of all this research is that official income and poverty measures are not very accurate in assessing the resources available to the low income population. A much better way to get an accurate picture of economic life at the bottom of the financial spectrum is to rely on actual *consumption* patterns—for which the government has reasonably high-quality data.

Some economists have called for *replacing our current official poverty line* (which is income-based) with a new measure that tracks consumption instead. That would show us much more accurately who is really lacking what.

REPORTED INCOME VS.SPENDING: Poorest 20% of American Households, 1992



Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

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ISLAND LIVING

Former Senator Tim Wirth, who is currently in charge of population policy at the Clinton State Department, recently spoke to an Amgen Forum at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington. When asked to define overpopulation as a scientific condition he cited a conversation he had had with Prime Minister Malval of the island nation of Haiti.

"Malval said, 'My country currently has a population of 7 million people, and that population is unsustainable. We've destroyed what was once an incredibly beautiful island. In 18 years that population is going to double.' For him this was an absolutely unsustainable prospect."

Assistant Secretary Wirth then suggested Americans should generalize from Haiti's experience and "go to discussions of carrying capacity...We can support tens of billions of people, I suppose, on the face of the Earth, at the standard of living that is enjoyed by the average peasant in India. Or a lot fewer people at a different standard of living."

Intrigued by this example, we collected statistics on population and standard of living for a number of island nations. Note a couple of interesting things in the results charted below:

- Though Haiti and the Dominican Republic have equivalent size populations and basically similar territorial resources (they actually share opposing halves of the same island) in the Dominican Republic income per head is 2 1/2 times as high, and life expectancy is 12 years longer.
- Large, dense populations do not in themselves bring poverty—witness Taiwan and Singapore.

It appears there are factors much more critical than population level in determining how livable a society is. Could the way Haiti organizes its economy and political system—rather than the raw numbers of its people—be the real key to its current and future condition?

ISLAND POPULATIONS AND LIVING STANDARDS, 1991

	Haiti	Dominican Republic	Jamaica	Taiwan	Singapore	Philippines
Population (millions)	6.6	7.2	2.4	20.4	2.8	62.9
Population Density (1,000 persons/km²)	236	147	218	567	2,800	210
Annual Population Growth 1980-1991 (percent)	1.9	2.2	1.0	1.4	1.7	2.4
GNP Per Capita (dollars)	370	940	1,380	8,790	14,210	730
Annual GNP Growth 1980-1991 (percent)	-2.4	-0.2	0.0	7.9	5.3	-1.2
Life Expectancy at Birth (years)	55	67	73	75	74	65

Source: World Bank, U.S. Bureau of the Census, and Coordination Council for North American Affairs

SNIPS

✂ **Electoral ennui**— With the understated lead, "It's hard for upstate people to understand the degree of political apathy in parts of New York City," a Gannett News Service journalist reported late in 1994 that "State Senator Martin Markowitz, D-Brooklyn, won renomination to his seat by garnering 107 votes—not 107,000 but 107. His opponent got 87. A Senate district holds about 290,000 people."

✂ **Roll up your sleeves, Marion**—Washington, D.C. population: 577,000; city workers: 42,000. Chicago population: 2.7 million, city workers: 41,000.

✂ **Open-minded college students**—Number of major trashings of campus publications, mostly conservative newspapers, reported during the past academic year: 38.

✂ **Now read this**—"According to the United Nations' latest count, of the approximately 3,000 languages spoken in the world today, only some 78 have a literature. Of those 78, a scant five or six enjoy a truly international audience." Barry Sanders, *A is for Ox,* 1994.

Cost-Effective Lifesaving

What are the most efficient ways for society to save lives? What are the most wasteful ways? The results of a massive review published in 1994 by the Center for Risk Analysis at the Harvard School of Public Health might surprise you.

One of the clearest findings: **Many of the most heavily emphasized environmental controls are incredibly ineffective—much more wasteful than oft-criticized medical procedures like heart transplants.**

The Harvard researchers divide all lifesaving attempts into three categories: Medical efforts, interventions to reduce injuries, and toxin controls. Those three kinds of undertakings price out quite differently:

MEDIAN COST PER LIFE-YEAR SAVED

Medical efforts	$19,000
Injury reduction	$48,000
Toxin controls	$2,782,000

Source: "Five-Hundred Life-Saving Interventions and Their Cost-Effectiveness," Tammy Tengs, et al., Harvard Center for Risk Analysis, 1994.

Here are cost estimates for some specific lifesaving efforts:

COST PER LIFE-YEAR FOR SPECIFIC LIFESAVING EFFORTS

Childhood immunization	less than zero
Flu vaccination	$1,000
Emergency vehicles on call	$1,000
Helmet protection	$2,000
Colorectal screening	$3,000
Water chlorination	$4,000
Smoke detectors	$5,000
Cholesterol screening	$6,000
Cervical cancer screening	$12,000
Neonatal intensive care	$12,000
Breast cancer screening	$17,000
Kidney transplant	$19,000
Traffic safety education	$20,000
Hypertension screening	$20,000
Airplane safety	$23,000
Auto seatbelts	$32,000
Speed limit	$45,000
Kidney dialysis	$46,000
Heart transplant	$54,000
Auto design improvements	$67,000
Radon control	$141,000
Pesticide control	$176,000
HIV/AIDS screening and prevention	$447,000
Natural disaster preparedness	$1,046,000
School bus safety rules	$1,757,000
Asbestos control	$1,865,000
Pollution control at paper mills	$7,522,000
Radiation control	$27,386,000

Pop Quiz Answers: 1) c; 2) c; 3) c

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The Multicultural Gulch

An interesting paper entitled "What Ordinary Americans Think About Multiculturalism," written by researchers from UCLA and Berkeley, was recently presented at the fall 1994 meeting of the American Political Science Association.

The authors surveyed a scientific sample of 821 residents of Los Angeles County, one of the most ethnically diverse jurisdictions in the United States, and reached these conclusions: "We find little public support for the broad multicultural agenda, among any of the ethnic groups surveyed. There is little support for maintaining native languages or strong ethnic identities.... Special ethnic entitlements are not supported, nor is political representation according to ethnicity." Some results:

VIEWS OF LOS ANGELENOS ON "MULTICULTURAL" ISSUES

Oppose making English the official language of the United States	39%
Believe people are best represented politically by own ethnic group	36%
Believe ethnic composition of Congress should match population	13%
Believe teachers' ethnicity should match students' ethnicity	8%
Favor preference in hiring and promotion to:	
—Blacks	14%
—Hispanics	22%
—Asians	15%
Believe blacks are especially deserving of help today because of slavery	21%

GETTING THE NEA'S NUMBERS

The most partisan labor organization in the United States today is the National Education Association, the public teachers' union. It is also the richest. Mandatory annual union dues for NEA members average over $400. This produces a staggering yearly cash flow ($750 million for 1992-93, according to *Forbes* magazine), a good portion of which goes into politicking. The union has a palatial headquarters in Washington, DC, and it spends tens of millions of dollars every year pushing local, state, and national causes and candidates. (Two favorite recent efforts: Electing Bill Clinton and defeating school choice proposals.) It's not clear these political projects reflect the personal priorities of the NEA's 2.1 million members. But then it's also not clear how many NEA members have faith in their own work: 22 percent of NEA teachers—twice the national average—put their own children in private schools. What do they know that we should?

Pop Quiz

1. **Proportion of all U.S. births in 1993 that were to women on Medicaid (government medical welfare program):**
   a) 1/10 b) 1/5 c) 1/3
2. **Percentage of girls who have a baby before they turn 18 having another baby within three years:**
   a) 9 b) 25 c) 40
3. **Of the 50 worst sites on the Superfund National Priority List for toxic clean-ups, number that are recycling facilities:**
   a) none b) 5 c) 13

(Answers on page 18)

The Wild Life

With every passing year, it becomes clearer that **competent hunters are becoming too scarce in the United States, while many types of game are becoming too common.**

Case in point: The white-tailed deer, which is in season for legal stalking in much of the country as these words are written. One hundred years ago, when small farms stretched across land now returned to forest, the U.S. deer population stood at 500,000 animals. Today, the Wildlife Management Institute reports, 25 million of the feral ruminants populate American woods. As a result, they're starving to death in many places during the winter, and making themselves into major pests in towns, suburbs, and even cities where they often mow down human gardens and landscaping.

DEER & CARS

Yearly auto accidents caused by deer in New York State alone	57,000
Resulting property damage	$50 million

Source: Cornell University.

Deer are also wreaking more serious kinds of damage. Lyme Disease, the dangerous, and often undetected, infection that is making trail hiking risky in more and more regions, is spread entirely by deer ticks. More immediately, deer are now a leading cause of highway casualties. In New York State alone (home to an estimated 1 million of the animals), deer are conservatively estimated to cause 57,000 accidents annually—resulting in $50 million worth of vehicle damage and scores of lost lives, according to Cornell University researchers. In the New York county where your editor lives there are an estimated 16 deer per square mile, and 4 out of 10 local residents want to see a decrease in the white-tailed population.

The means to that end are folks toting shotguns and bows. In a typical year, state Department of Environmental Conservation figures show, hunters cull a quarter-million deer out of the New York herd (1 in 10 by bow and arrow). The state estimates that deer hunting contributes $100 million to New York's economy. Meanwhile, surveys show that the vast number of hunters are still after one thing: Edible meat. For those that aren't, apparatus have sprung up to funnel venison to local charitable feeding programs.

And deer aren't the only animals whose numbers these days cry out for selective human pruning. Another example in New York is the beaver. The Department of Environmental Conservation predicts that unless the recent trapping decline reverses soon (New York trapping licenses have fallen from 31,500 in1980 to about 10,000 today) the current statewide population of 18,000 beaver colonies will mushroom to more than 45,000 by around the turn of the century. Personally, I often go canoeing specifically in the hope of seeing beaver. But in some places inopportune dams are popping up, turning meadows and free-flowing creeks into muddy ponds, flooding highways, crops, and homes. Beaver can also make a serious mess of timber.

For anybody who spends time in the woods, it's always a thrill to spot a tawny buck or fat flattail. But in the absence of any natural predators, **deer, beaver, and a goodly number of other animals are now deeply dependent upon man—specifically armed men wearing blaze orange—to keep their numbers balanced and their populations healthy.**

Sheep lost in the American West to bears, coyotes, and other predators	**420,000**

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two views

From the Left and from the Right,
Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Leon Podles argue Yes.

Is There a Place for All-Male Schools?

The evidence leaves no doubt. Single-sex education works. For graduates of women's colleges it works very well indeed. These women are disproportionately represented in professional and graduate education, in political office, and on the boards of Fortune 500 companies. So long as we restrict our attention to women—who are viewed as entitled to every available benefit—most of the American establishment is still prepared to support single-sex education. The difficulties arise when men enter the picture. For men, as we all know, have enjoyed too many advantages for too long, and it is time to punish them.

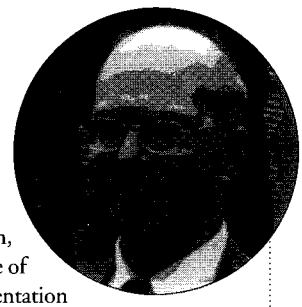
The struggle to force coeducation upon the Virginia Military Institute and The Citadel have brought these issues to the fore. The Justice Department brought suit against VMI for its refusal to admit women, but that was only a dress rehearsal for the battle now waging over The Citadel. For in the case of The Citadel we have a real woman, Shannon Faulkner, who is being shamefully denied not merely benefits but rights. If we credit the Justice Department and, especially, the ACLU (which is leading the attack), only harsh bigotry could explain such iniquity.

The problem with The Citadel is that its corps of cadets is all men. And we all know about men. They abuse one another, harass homosexuals, denigrate women, and, in their spare time, date drag queens. The trouble with this morality play spun by the press and Faulkner's activist backers is that it has distracted our attention from the real issues.

One of the fundamental obstacles these schools face is that the goal of producing real men has fallen into disrepute.

The battles over VMI and The Citadel have unfolded against a backdrop of rhetoric about the ways schools and colleges allegedly "shortchange" girls, offering them an "unfair" and "chilly" climate. This is the thinking that has given us the Gender Equity in Education Act, which quietly made its way through the last Congress. Like sex-education programs for children and multicultural requirements on college campuses, the movement for gender equity in education above all aims to oblige instructors to reshape classroom dynamics.

Some might ask whether special interventions on behalf of women do more harm than good. Others might ask if they are really necessary. Women now outnumber men on college campuses, they are entering graduate and professional schools in record numbers. When they enter the job market they now earn approximately as much as their male



It is hard for a boy to grow up to be a man. Being a man is more than being an adult male. A man has to live up to a standard of masculinity. To live up to that standard, he not only has to know what it is, he has to be led, encouraged, pressured, into living up to an exacting model of disciplined self-sacrifice. That self-sacrifice may be simply grinding away at studies in order to learn enough to support a family, or it may be death in combat, but without the decision to be a man at the cost of his pleasure or even of his life, a boy will never grow up. He will only get older. All societies have some system of paideia, of education to initiate boys into the mysteries of life and death, of what it is to be a man in a world in which struggle and mortality are inevitable. Modern Western society, especially in America, has feminized education to such an extent that schools no longer help boys become men. The mixed-sex school, run by women for girls, is an obstacle to the boy's search for identity as a man, and one reason why male energies in American society take such a destructive form.

Having suffered the actions of young males who live out a caricature of masculinity, many adults in our society, especially upper-middle-class women, would be happy to see boys feminized. But these women have lost a sense of what masculinity is all about. Yale anthropologist David Gilmore, in the best analysis of masculinity available, *Manhood in the Making*, shows how almost all societies try to teach their boys to be self-sacrificial in the service of the community. Women, because of the orientation of the female body to motherhood, have a stronger tendency to the self-sacrifice that is necessary if a society is going to survive.

Paradoxically, the roughness and aggressiveness that are almost universally cultivated in boys exist not for the male's own protection, but for the sake of the community. By following the ideals of masculinity, men can attain in their own way what women attain in motherhood. As Gilmore summarizes: "Men nurture their society by shedding their blood, their sweat, and their semen, by bringing home food for both child and mother, by producing children, and by dying if necessary in faraway places to provide a safe haven for their people." Warren Farrell in *The Myth of Male Power* has documented that this ideology of masculine self-sacrifice is still strong in some segments of American society: his own brother died in an avalanche when he went ahead of his girlfriend to scout out a safe path, and 99 percent of the volunteer firefighters in this country are men.

Yet the ideology of masculinity has started to disintegrate. Roughness and aggressiveness are no longer used to serve the community but to prey upon the weak. The true pathology of the black underclass is shown not just in its violence, but in the inward turn of the violence of young black men, not against alleged oppressors, but largely against themselves and even against their

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Fox-Genovese continued

peers. Among African-Americans, who are correctly believed to be at special risk, women are enjoying much greater professional success than men.

Nonetheless, single-sex education does seem, in some subtle and complex way, to produce more positive effects for girls and women than coeducation. This is why some educators have taken interest in all-girl high school math classes.

There is no begrudging women the accomplishment and self-confidence they may derive from pursuing their education in an all-female environment. So why should we deprive men of similar opportunities? After all, one of the main reasons for forcing coeducation upon VMI and The Citadel is that they succeed very well. They take ordinary young men—including many from less than affluent backgrounds—and help them turn out better than anyone might reasonably have expected.

One of the fundamental obstacles these schools face is that the goal of producing real men has fallen into disrepute, presumably because it perpetuates inequality between women and men. Those who most angrily oppose all-male schools on the grounds that they deprive women of equal opportunity no less angrily oppose protective labor legislation or maternity leave for women. Their real enemy is sexual differentiation, which they dismiss as "stereotyping."

Few people these days oppose equal opportunity for women. But Americans do not agree about what equal opportunity means and requires. The mind-boggling inconsistencies of the gender egalitarians hold that since women's colleges serve women's interest, they are useful. But since men's colleges demonstrably serve men, they must go. All in the name of equality.

Logically, morally, and politically, the defense of single-sex education for women must include its defense for men as well. The position of the ACLU, unlike that of the "gender feminists," is at least consistent. The ACLU says that all single-sex education must go. Yet what the ACLU fails to understand is that the individual freedom it passionately claims to defend is possible in a society where children grow up with appropriate attitudes and behavior because they have been acculturated by effective institutions.

The point of separating boys and girls during adolescence is to separate the training of good citizens from the vicissitudes of mating and dating, which notoriously distract adolescents from the business at hand. The paradox of single-sex education is that, by separating girls and boys, it meets their distinct developmental needs in ways that will prepare them to engage in equal and civilized competition as adults.

Beyond the issues of educational policy lie the constitutional issues, notably our interpretation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In the rush of enthusiasm to ensure Shannon Faulkner the freedom to exercise her individual choice, it has escaped attention that her exercise of that choice will permanently deprive hundreds of thousands of other young people of the right to exercise theirs. For Faulkner's admission to The Citadel would not only eliminate one of the few remaining strongholds of single-sex education, it would bring the demise of single-sex education generally—first in the public sphere and rapidly thereafter in the private. No less portentously, it will sound the death knell of historically black colleges, desperately needed all-male high schools in the inner city, all-female math classes in public schools, and all religious schools as well.

Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, founding director of the Institute for Women's Studies at Emory University, has served as an expert witness for the VMI and Citadel cases.

Podles continued

own women and children. The schools are a large part of the problem. For at least the past century they have been designed to cultivate feminine ways of life. Patricia Sexton in her 1969 study *The Feminized Male* documented what all boys, whether white or black, have experienced. Schools are run by women for girls, and

TODAY SCHOOLS ARE RUN BY WOMEN FOR GIRLS, AND TO SUCCEED IN THEM A BOY MUST TO SOME EXTENT BETRAY HIS MASCULINE IDENTITY.

to succeed in them a boy must to some extent betray his masculine identity. Girls mature faster than boys and have higher verbal skills that help them succeed in the classroom. Teachers call on boys more than on girls in a vain attempt to get their attention and to stop them from disrupting the classroom. Most boys rebel against this system designed for girls, and except for the lucky few in private single-sex schools there is no alternate masculine system to channel their energies into socially constructive paths. Athletics, the last male refuge, are neglected in urban schools. In Washington, D.C., the public schools can rarely pay for a coach and equipment for a football team, and the playing fields are overgrown and strewn with broken bottles.

Boys need an initiation into masculinity, and schools are the most likely candidate to give them this initiation. Black boys more than other boys need this help to become men, but as the family weakens under feminist and economic pressure, more and more boys of all races will need it. The schools must be designed for boys, and run by men who are truly masculine. Masculinity includes training in fortitude, in enduring discomfort and pain for a worthy goal, whether it is winning a game or mastering calculus. All-male schools geared to the cultivation of a socially useful masculinity would help to convince boys that intellectual attainments are not white or feminine; that skills, scholarship, and learning can also be ways of demonstrating prowess and showing that you are a man.

This was at one time the situation in Western education. Walter Ong, S.J., past-president of the Modern Language Association, examined in his book *Fighting for Life* what an educational system geared to cultivating masculinity was like. It taught challenging subjects: Latin was for over a millennium practically a male language. It used what Ong calls agonic techniques: debate, oral examinations, competitions of all kinds. It made scholarship into a glorious male game, as challenging as football without helmets. Boys responded to such a system; they learned the history and philosophy and science that enabled the West to modernize.

Girls may need their own type of education, as some feminists claim. But if all girls are educated in a single-sex environment, boys will also have to (notice here the trick of masculine disjunctive logic) be educated in a single-sex system. The alternative to all-male and all-female schools, each designed to provide boys and girls with the special formation they need, can be seen in any inner city: body counts that rival the civil war in Ireland, and stray bullets that obliterate drug dealer, woman, and child indiscriminately.

Leon J. Podles is writing a book on masculine spirituality. Four of his six children are boys.

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"Live" with TAE

After helping the Republicans take the Senate, combative Texas senator Phil Gramm sets his sights on the White House. An exclusive interview.

Phil Gramm

After the smashing GOP success of November 8, which he helped engineer as head of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, Phil Gramm eschewed the usual waffling and coquetry and announced, in all but the legalistic jot and tittle sense, his candidacy for his party's 1996 presidential nomination.

William Philip Gramm, Georgia-born and bred, was a professor of economics at Texas A&M when he won election to the House of Representatives in 1978. Brainy, crafty, and purposeful, he led the Boll Weevils, Southern Democrats whose skepticism of social-welfare programs made them allies of Ronald Reagan.

In 1983, Congressman Gramm jumped to the Republican party, "riding my donkey off into the sunset following Jefferson." In 1984 he rode on into the Senate, where he quickly made his mark as coauthor of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction act.

Phil Gramm would be the first true college professor in the White House since Woodrow Wilson. (Professor Clinton of the University of Arkansas Law School doesn't really count.) Like most men who would be president, Gramm's life has recently become a blur of planes and money-raising and public appearances. The conclusion of this chat was conducted as the senator strode to a car that would carry him to the studios of CNN. The race is on.

This is the first in a series of TAE interviews with probable candidates for the presidency in 1996. Editors Bill Kauffman and Scott Walter pitched the questions.

In this election people said very clearly they wanted their money back, they wanted their freedom back, and they wanted their country back.

TAE: You've been busy, haven't you?

SEN. GRAMM: Doing the Lord's work.

TAE: I was just down in San Antonio and went to the Alamo for the first time.

SEN. GRAMM: When I'm in San Antonio with any free time, I always go to the Alamo and I am always moved. All I've got to do is read William Barret Travis's letter on the wall.

TAE: He ends it, "Victory or death," underlined.

SEN. GRAMM: That's right.

TAE: Let's say that in 1996 a Republican president is elected, and the Congress stays Republican until the year 2000. Come the millennium, how will the scope, shape, and size of the U.S. government be changed?

SEN. GRAMM: Let me start with the 1994 elections, because I think they say something to this subject. I think the American voters in 1994 said two things: number one, they wanted the taxing, spending, and regulating, which has been the hallmark of the Clinton agenda, stopped; and they also said that they wanted to change the contract between the government and the people.

For 40 years, every time we've had a problem, real or imagined, we've ended up having government take more of our money, more of our freedom, and what we have gotten for all of that is a government that's bigger, that is more distant, and that is increasingly hostile. And I think in this election that people said very clearly they wanted their money back, they wanted their freedom back, and they wanted their country back.

I believe that our task between now and 1996 is trying to begin to implement that mandate. Obviously, what we can do is going to be limited by the fact that the person in the White House is for an agenda that clearly has the government going in the opposite direction.

TAE: You've said that balancing the budget is like going to heaven: everybody wants to do it; they just don't want to do what you have to do to make the trip.

What federal agencies, departments, or programs would you abolish?

SEN. GRAMM: I have often talked about the Dicky Flatt test: Is it worth taking money from Dicky Flatt—a printer in Mexia, Texas, I know who works hard for a living—in order to fund this program? If you apply the Dicky Flatt test, huge amounts of the American government do not stand up.

Illustration by Lucinda S. Levine

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TAE: For instance?

SEN. GRAMM: The Department of Commerce. I think that other than accumulating statistics, which I believe is a legitimate government function, much of the activity of the Department of Commerce does not meet the Dicky Flatt test.

I think if you look at a range of subsidies to business, from direct loans through the Small Business Administration to subsidizing exports, I think many of those expenditures do not meet the Dicky Flatt test.

I think if you look at $301 billion of social welfare spending at the federal and state level, we need a dramatic change in welfare with a mandatory work requirement in the private sector of the economy. We have to ask the people riding in the wagon to get out of the wagon and help the rest of us pull.

You have a huge number of programs that are very difficult to justify if your objective is to let working people keep more of what they earn.

TAE: Let's apply the Dicky Flatt test to foreign aid, in which there's always been a huge disagreement between the people who live in America and the people who run it. Does our foreign aid budget meet the Dicky Flatt test? And, in particular, does the largest chunk of it, the annual $7 billion subsidy of Israel and Egypt, meet that test?

SEN. GRAMM: I think that some of it meets the test; some of it doesn't. I have always believed that our foreign policy should be focused on promoting America's interest and promoting objectives that we agree to in concert with people who share with us a commitment to democracy and to capitalism.

TAE: Can it be reduced, though?

SEN. GRAMM: I think the Middle East is a very important area. I think we have a big stake there, and that's always going to be reflected in our foreign aid budget. What I strongly object to in foreign aid is where we're spending money to promote economic systems abroad that we would never impose on ourselves; where we're spending money, as we are in Haiti—as much as $3 billion now—propping up a regime whose leader says that American capitalism is a disease; and where we do not have a vital national interest.

TAE: Does that also apply to our interventions through organizations like the National Endowment for Democracy, whether it's in South African elections or Nicaraguan elections?

SEN. GRAMM: Well, it depends. I think the idea of trying to help people understand how democracy works is a good idea. I think trying to prop up various regimes and trying to be the world's policeman is a very bad idea.

The welfare debate is about the lives of 40 million people and the squandering of those lives by a system that corrodes their values, by a system that destroys their incentives. I intend to tear down the existing welfare system plank by plank and start the process over. No amount of criticism will ever deter me on this subject.

In many ways, since the Second World War, we've been like a little rich kid in the middle of the slum with a big cake. People see the cake and want a piece of it. And we have not created a lot of love for ourselves by giving away little pieces when people thought they deserved the whole cake.

What we have to share is not the cake, but the recipe that we used to bake that cake. And I believe that that recipe is capitalism and democracy, and I think we ought to be relentlessly pursuing a foreign policy that encourages the development of capitalism and democracy around the world. And if nations are not practicing capitalism and democracy, then we ought not to underwrite their failure with the taxpayers' money.

TAE: How about college subsidies for the middle class? How much should those be scaled back?

SEN. GRAMM: I have always supported a revolving loan fund. I think that the biggest cost we have in the Guaranteed Student Loan program is defaults. The way to improve the program is to set standards whereby we assess the risk and the benefits.

If someone does not make a 700 on the SAT test, they can't play football at the University of Alabama. And the reason is the NCAA has decided that they're not real college students. And yet they can get a guaranteed student loan and borrow thousands of dollars from the taxpayers to go to a four-year university.

That makes no sense to me, and I think we ought to set academic standards for getting assistance. I'm willing to lend money to any good student who wants to borrow money to go to college, and who will pay it back.

TAE: What lessons should we draw from the Branch Davidian holocaust in Waco?

SEN. GRAMM: I don't think the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms should have ever been a law enforcement agency as such. It should be an investigative and a reporting agency. I think the FBI ought to be the federal law enforcement arm.

I think it is clear there that we had overzealous people who may have been more interested in publicity and in macho tactics than in reasonable procedures.

TAE: Should the Brady bill and the ban on so-called assault weapons and perhaps earlier gun control measures be repealed?

SEN. GRAMM: I think that we have lost our last gun vote of this century. I think the American people are not willing to give up any further Second Amendment rights.

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I think that if we continue to make progress we will be able to elect a Congress and a president who will understand that criminals are the problem, not guns. I'd like to have an instant-check system such as the one in Virginia so we don't disrupt the ability of law-abiding citizens to buy guns—with minimum mandatory sentencing for people who are not eligible to buy firearms who try to buy them.

TAE: You're a big promoter of welfare reform. America sent 18-year-old boys halfway around the world to risk their lives and lose them after CNN showed starving Somalians. If CNN starts showing starving Americans in Harlem and Brownsville, will the country follow through with welfare reform?

SEN. GRAMM: There's no doubt about the fact that there are a huge number of people—both those who are riding in the wagon and those who are steering the wagon—who are going to scream very loudly when the people who are pulling the wagon ask them to get out and help pull. Every horror story which can be conjured up by the human mind—and the human mind is a very fertile device—will be used to try to explain that the world is going to come to an end if people actually have to work. And it's going to test our courage and our resolve.

If the debate were simply about $301 billion a year, I think that we might not have sufficient courage or resolve. But the debate is about the lives of 40 million people and the squandering of those lives by a system that corrodes their values, by a system that destroys their incentives.

When my mama worked in a cotton mill, she earned more than $28 a week; she earned self-respect. It made all the difference. So I think rather than saying I feel guilty about what we've done to the people riding in the wagon, let me state it in a positive way. It is because I love them that I want them to have the same opportunities that we've had. I intend to tear down the existing welfare system plank by plank and start the process over. No amount of criticism will ever deter me on this subject.

TAE: Well, tearing it down implies somebody's going to build something to help those people—

SEN. GRAMM: Well, no, wait a minute. We've already built something to help them. It's called America. The other day, the President was saying on television he's always thought government ought to empower people. Government does not empower people. Freedom empowers people.

TAE: Sure, but, presumably, some of those people will need at least some help to do that,

If you look at a range of subsidies to business, from direct loans through the Small Business Administration to subsidizing exports, I think many of those expenditures do not meet the Dicky Flatt test.

and private charities will probably have to shoulder a big load, as they used to before government got into the business. So if government's getting out of the charity business, that means that private charities' efforts are going to be crucial. Have the Republicans failed to stress how much effort will be necessary in this area?

SEN. GRAMM: Private charities have played a big role in America. They have been crowded out by government programs in many cases. And I think it is a logical thing to change the tax laws to make it easier for people to help through private, charitable, religious organizations.

My own view is that if we change the incentive system we will change behavior, and if we're willing to stay with reforms, we will have millions of people who today do not believe that they are capable of self-sufficiency who will become self-sufficient. One of their children will probably become president.

I think there is an unlimited reservoir of human talent which is seldom tapped, and I'm eager to unleash it.

TAE: The passage of Proposition 187 in California probably augurs a crackdown on illegal immigration. What about legal immigration? Are the current levels too high, too low, about right?

SEN. GRAMM: I am a strong supporter of legal immigration. I think legal immigration brings new vision, new energy to the country. I am totally committed to gaining control of our borders and stopping illegal immigration. And if we've got to build a 20-foot high fence—

TAE: The Buchanan ditch?

SEN. GRAMM: I'm ready to dig a ditch if we have to dig a ditch. I don't want to dig ditches we don't need. I don't want to build fences we don't need. But I want to stop illegal immigration, and I'm committed to that.

I am not ready to take down the Statue of Liberty. We've got room in America, a lot of room for people who want to come work, who want to help build on the American dream. We do not have room for people who want to come live off the sweat of someone else's brow. I believe that states have the right to say that people who come to America illegally are not entitled to a certain range of state benefits.

TAE: Some demographers claim that by the year 2050 non-Hispanic whites will make up less than half of the population of the United States. Is this a prospect that should bother us at all, or are we racist if it does?

SEN. GRAMM: At the turn of the century, I'm sure that Americans of English ancestry were worried about what was going to happen in

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America when Americans of German ancestry or southern European ancestry were required to shoulder positions of leadership.

I believe the miracle of America works on everybody. I am far more worried about the future of our country when I look at what government is doing to limit that future by limiting freedom than I would ever be worried about what ethnic groups make up America. It's not our skin or our blood, it's our hearts that make us Americans. And what is unique about America is that it is here that ordinary people, like you and me, have had more opportunity and more freedom than any other people who ever lived. And with that opportunity and with that freedom, ordinary people like us have been able to do extraordinary things.

If we can preserve freedom, we don't ever have to worry about what America's going to look like.

TAE: Your wife, Wendy, is a Korean-American. Within either of your families, were there ever any reservations about an interracial marriage?

SEN. GRAMM: It never was an issue. I mean, my wife is as American as apple pie. Our people came to America at roughly the same time, just from different parts of the world, but we came here for the same reason: looking for opportunity.

My wife's grandfather did not come to this country looking for a handout. He came here as an indentured laborer to work in the sugar cane fields in Hawaii because he was looking for freedom. And when he picked my wife's grandmother out of a picture book—we have the picture, one of our great possessions—and sent for her, she came here not looking for more government, not ever thinking anybody was ever going to guarantee her anything, but thinking that in America anything was possible. And it was.

My wife's grandfather was a laborer. Her father was the first Asian to become an officer in a sugar company in the history of Hawaii. And under President Reagan and President Bush, my wife was chairman of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission—and in that capacity she oversaw the trading of sugar cane futures.

Now, somebody who's going to try to tell me that America is unfair, that this is a country where ordinary people can't get ahead, they are absolutely wasting their breath, because it's a subject I have made up my mind on long ago. And on that subject, the subject of America, on opportunity and freedom, to me the facts are in.

TAE: In what respects are you a Georgian and in what respects are you a Texan?

My wife's grandfather did not come to this country looking for a handout. He came here as an indentured laborer to work in the sugar cane fields in Hawaii because he was looking for freedom.

SEN. GRAMM: Well, I was born in Fort Benning, Georgia. My dad was a sergeant in the army, so I grew up in Georgia. When I got out of graduate school, I read the words of Horace Greeley: "Go west, young man, go west." Like most people who took Greeley's advice, it worked out.

TAE: Not long ago, military service was almost indispensable for running for president. Should it be?

SEN. GRAMM: I'm from a military family. My dad was a career soldier. My brother was a career soldier. I did not serve in the military. I was having another experience in teaching in Texas A&M at the time. I had a lot of students who served with great distinction in Vietnam. I was very proud of what they did.

TAE: Who's your favorite figure on the American Left, contemporary or historic?

SEN. GRAMM: I'd say Harry Truman.

TAE: He's on the Left?

SEN. GRAMM: Well, I mean, he vetoed Taft-Hartley. How far left do you mean? Do you mean Democrat?

TAE: It could be Eugene V. Debs, for all I know.

SEN. GRAMM: Well, I don't know. I've studied and admire so few leftists. I'm sure they're all good human beings. They're just wrong.

TAE: Do you attend church Sundays?

SEN. GRAMM: Sometimes I do, sometimes I don't.

TAE: Do you think God plays a role in temporal affairs? For instance, does He have a hand in who will be the next president of the United States? Or does He leave that up to us?

SEN. GRAMM: Well, I'm sure if He decided to do it, He could. I imagine He'll leave it up to us.

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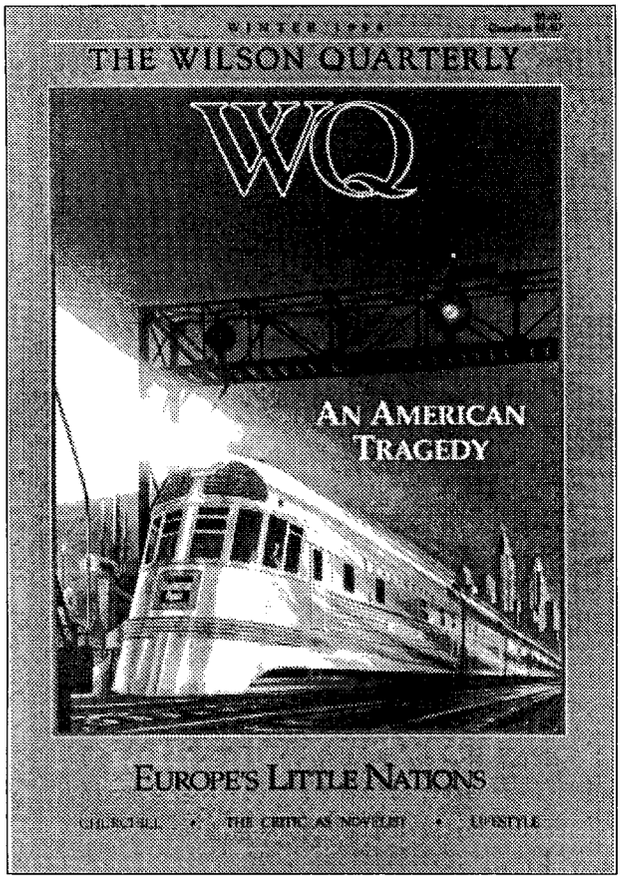

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Reflections on the Moynihan Report

William J. Bennett

30 Years Later

Pat Moynihan and I have differed on a number of issues over the years. We belong to different political parties. And I will confess I wish that the career of Senator Pat Moynihan, legislator, would have more closely resembled Professor Pat Moynihan, scholar.

Nevertheless, I consider Daniel Patrick Moynihan to be one of the seminal political figures of our time. He possesses a luminous intelligence and deep intellectual integrity. For three decades he has done more than any other contemporary political . . .

ustration by Marc Mongeau

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figure to advance the national conversation on important social issues. So it was with a good deal of enthusiasm that I agreed to Karl Zinsmeister's request to write about the contemporary social and political relevance of "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action"—the so-called Moynihan Report, one of the most important pieces of social science ever produced—which was released 30 years ago this March.

The Prescient Moynihan Report

After rereading the 78-page Moynihan Report, one of the things that immediately stands out is what a rare government document it is: lucid, readable, well argued, even eloquent in places. In an age in which public officials promise the moon and the stars, there is a becoming modesty to it:

"The object of this study has been to define a problem, rather than propose solutions to it.... In a word, a national effort towards the problems of Negro Americans must be directed towards the question of family structure. The object should be to strengthen the Negro family so as to enable it to raise and support its members as do other families. After that, how this group of Americans chooses to run its affairs, take advantage of its opportunities, or fail to do so, is none of the nation's business."

In the 30 years since its release, the Moynihan Report has been praised for its prescience and its political courage. Prescience because its central insight—family stability should be the basis of social legislation and central to the civil rights struggle—was so right, so early, and at the very time when the assault on the nuclear family was in its early stages. It was politically courageous because its author was willing to risk the kinds of harsh personal attacks that are often directed at those who address—even thoughtfully—topics deemed too controversial.

Because the Moynihan Report has at last been embraced by many on the Left and the Right, one can easily forget how inflammatory it was in its day. The topic of the deteriorating condition of the black family was so sensitive that, according to reporters Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, attempts were actually made to suppress release of the study. Once it did become public, it was bitterly attacked by some for encouraging "subtle racism."

LIBERAL INTELLECTUALS AND CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS CRITICIZED THE MOYNIHAN REPORT FOR FOCUSING TOO MUCH ON ILLEGITIMACY, AND FOR ITS DEFENSE OF "MIDDLE-CLASS" VALUES.

Liberal intellectuals and civil rights activists criticized the Moynihan Report for focusing too much on illegitimacy, and for its defense of "middle-class" values. "What may seem to be a disease to the white middle class may be a healthy adaptation to the Negro lower class," asserted Bayard Rustin. "My major criticism of the report is that it assumes that middle-class American values are the correct ones for everyone in America," wrote Floyd McKissick, director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). "Just because Moynihan believes in the middle-class values doesn't mean that they are the best for everyone in America," he argued. Professors Lee Rainwater and William Yancey suggested that "in the public version of the report, it would have been well to reduce the discussion of illegitimacy because of the inflammatory nature of the issue with its inevitable overtones of immorality."

The good news is that most people have now come around to Moynihan's view of the world. We are all Moynihanians now, if you will. Overwhelming empirical evidence demonstrates that shattered families are today's primary threat to the civic order, and the principal cause of contemporary poverty. According to the Census Bureau, the family income of black two-parent families is almost two-and-a-half times the family income of white single-parent families, and children of white single-parents are two-and-a-half times likelier to be living in poverty than children in black two-parent families. Today's major domestic problem, clearly, is family solidarity, not race.

"Tangle of Pathologies" Past and Present

The Moynihan Report places our current social situation in historical context, and clearly reveals two things: One is that the nation has taken a ruinous social slide over the last three decades. The other is that we have become in many ways inured to the trauma.

In 1965, one-quarter of all black children were born out of wedlock. A little more than one-half of all black children lived in broken homes at some time before they reached age 18. Nearly a quarter of all black women who had married were living apart from their husband. Fourteen percent of black children were on welfare.

Faced with this "tangle of pathologies," Moynihan wrote: "There is a considerable body of evidence to support the conclusion that Negro social structure, in particular the Negro family...is in the deepest trouble.... [The breakup of the black family] is the single most important social fact of the United States today.... At the heart of the deterioration of the fabric of Negro society is the deterioration of the Negro family. It is the fundamental source of weakness of the Negro community at the present time.... The family structure of lower class Negroes is highly unstable, and in many urban centers is approaching complete breakdown." When the Moynihan Report was finally made public, *Newsweek* magazine referred to its "stunning numbers." The *New York Times* editorialized that "whatever the index of social pathology...it is apparent that the Negro family in the urban areas of this country is rapidly decaying." William Ryan of Harvard (one of Moynihan's most prominent critics) warned of "frightening statistics about broken Negro families, illegitimate Negro children, and Negro welfare recipients." Martin Luther King, Jr., categorized the existing breakdown of the Negro family as a "social catastrophe."

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That was then. This is now.
In 1991, 68 percent of all black births were out-of-wedlock. Only 6 percent of black children born in 1980 will live with both parents through age 18, according to some projections. And more than 70 percent of black children will have been supported by AFDC payments at one point or another during childhood. (In recent testimony at a Senate Finance Committee hearing chaired by Senator Moynihan, the same Professor Rainwater who in 1965 warned against discussing illegitimacy predicted that by the end of the century out-of-wedlock birthrates for minorities will be 80 percent, while the out-of-wedlock birthrate for Americans as a whole will be 40 percent.)

The Moynihan Report had little to say about the white family save that "the white family has achieved a high degree of stability and is maintaining that stability." Alas, that stability has now dissolved. During the intervening 30 years, white family structure has been severely eroded by high rates of illegitimacy, divorce, desertion, and welfare dependence. White illegitimacy, for instance, has increased from 4 percent in 1965 to 22 percent in 1991. The proportion of white females who are divorced has tripled. If these trends continue they will have even more serious consequences for American society than the decline of the black family, since whites constitute a much larger segment of the U.S. population.

This rapid, massive collapse of U.S. family structure is without precedent among civilized nations. Our country cannot sustain it; no country can. The American public in general—and the black community in particular—would surely give its collective eye teeth to wake up one morning and again face the "frightening statistics" of 1965. The question arises: What words can adequately describe the situation we are now in? If "social catastrophe" described the situation three decades ago, what words can possibly describe our much worse calamity now?

Social Pathologies and the Collapse of Faith in Government
Much has been written about how contemporary families pathologies have frayed—and, in some urban areas, ripped apart—the social fabric. But one result that has received little attention is the fact that accumulating decay has undermined popular faith in government and reminded us of its limits.

The public's deep antipathy toward government is one of the most important political facts of this decade. The near-total collapse of public confidence in political institutions is attributable to many things—the extraordinary increase in size and intrusiveness of government, the arrogance of the political class, toxic campaigns, the superficial coverage and cynical attitude of some media, banal rhetoric, habitual overpromising, corrupt public officials, and the passage of a lot of very bad legislation. But I believe there is something else going on as well: The soaring expectations of the federal government circa 1960s have collided with the social and political realities of the 1990s.

From the mid-1930s to the mid-1960s, the public developed boundless confidence in, and extraordinarily high expectations of, the federal government. Whether it was the launching of the New Deal or the Great Society, building a national highway system, or winning a world war, helping to develop penicillin or putting a man on the moon, it seemed there was no problem the federal government could not solve, or at least ameliorate.

This intoxicated sense of what government could achieve had no basis in any previous historical experience. Nevertheless, it fostered a certain mindset. The political class and the public began to look reflexively to federal programs to solve national problems. In *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy,* Pat Moynihan recounted a conversation he had in the summer of 1965 with a top presidential aide:

"I was terribly conscious of the enormous obstacles in the way of any attempt by government to stimulate authentic social action within a community. I was also terribly aware of what seemed to me then—and still seems—the serious failures of many of the governmental programs that had already been established. I was trying to suggest that we might come closer to a solution of the problem if the government tried to do a few things well instead of doing a great many things badly. He was extremely impatient with any discussion of complexity.... He just was not interested in anything that did not lead directly to a specific proposal which he could place before the President—and before the Congress."

The issue of race is illustrative. In a little over a decade, we witnessed the de jure end of segregation (1954), passage of the Civil Rights Act (1964), and passage of the Voting Rights Act (1965). These were monumental achievements. But there was still, in President Johnson's words, "the next and more profound stage" of the civil rights struggle to be won. Contemporary liberalism's strategy was to rev up the engine of government through new federal programs, huge increases in spending, court-ordered forced busing, and national quotas and set-asides.

At the heart of the liberal agenda was the idea that social justice would be achieved through government or judicial activism. John Gardner, Lyndon Johnson's secretary of health, education, and welfare and one of the influential liberals of the time, put it this way: "There are some people who have what I think of as a vending machine concept of social change. You put in a coin and out comes a piece of candy. If you have a social problem, you pass a law and out comes the solution."

We have put a lot of coins into the social vending machine during the last 30 years—and things have gotten a lot worse. If our travails were subject to monetary and programmatic solutions, we would already have dispatched most of them. After all, since 1965 we have spent more than $5 trillion on hundreds of welfare programs. Can anyone claim we

In 1991, 68 percent of all black births were out of wedlock. More than 70 percent of black children will have been supported by AFDC payments at one point or another during childhood.

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have gotten $5 trillion worth of positive results? Can anyone pretend we have made our overall social life better? Can anyone deny the deleterious consequences that have resulted from many of these government payments?

The Great Society produced some successes and much failure. But the crisis of modern liberalism comes from the realization that its remedies have reached the limits of their effectiveness. As author Jonathan Rauch puts it, "Our problems have changed—in ways that defeat the postwar toolbox of public policies, much as viruses mutate to resist vaccines."

Even true believers in government redistribution as a cure for social ills must face the reality that the 1990s are not the 1960s or the 1930s. The most serious problems afflicting our society today are manifestly moral, behavioral, and spiritual, and therefore remarkably resistant to government cures. Defeating communism required resolute action from heads of government; overcoming the great challenges of our present age will require resolute actions from millions of individual citizens.

This is not meant to discount the importance of public policies; it is merely an attempt to put them in their proper perspective. Intelligent, carefully crafted legislation can affect things at the margin. Laws can encourage and discourage certain types of behavior. But government cannot force a man to be a good father to the child he sired, or make individuals take their professions of religious faith seriously, or cause the popular culture to become less vulgar. And these things matter much more to the success of future generations than do any actions of government.

Where We Go from Here

A seismic shift has recently taken place in our public discourse. A set of issues once thought beyond the purview of politics—the social issues, the moral issues, the family issues—is now suddenly driving the public debate. There is a widespread sense in our country that the wheels of our society have been coming off. The rising body counts, the daily atrocity stories, the mounting social science evidence, the horrifying signs of urban decay all around us have seared an impression upon the public imagination. The common citizenry knows that great chunks of America are in the midst of serious moral decline.

EVEN TRUE BELIEVERS IN GOVERNMENT REDISTRIBUTION AS A CURE FOR SOCIAL ILLS MUST FACE THE REALITY THAT THE 1990S ARE NOT THE 1960S.

The good news is that indifference and denial have been replaced by an awakened recognition. But awakened recognition is merely the first step toward healing, and at present ours is still the recognition of the addict. In the latest national data, released in October of 1994, the U.S. illegitimacy rate climbed yet again—to 30 percent of all births. Meanwhile, our divorce rate remains the world's highest, continuing at more than twice its 1960 level. Only when these sorts of vital indicators head back toward healthier pre-1960s levels will we know that the national wishfulness for a better social life is actually leading to more wholesome habits.

In happy fact, we are beginning to see encouraging signs in the land. There are exciting rejuvenation movements like Promise Keepers, the National Fatherhood Initiative, and Best Friends. There is fresh interest in moral education, and a new intensity of child nurture in some quarters (as indicated by things like the boom in homeschooling). Some would say there is a spiritual ferment in the air. And of course there is the stunning evidence of the 1994 elections—where an almost monolithic set of returns indicated the rise of a broader, more nearly single-minded moral consensus than any other election of recent lifetimes.

Politics is of course an important arena, and one measure of our seriousness will be whether we make moral commonsense the touchstone of our social legislation in the future. The crucial test will be our willingness to translate our generalized concerns into a specific set of concrete initiatives. Will the federal government stop subsidizing illegitimacy through welfare payments? Will we pass tax policies that support rather than undermine the nuclear family? Are we willing to rescind "no-fault" divorce laws? These are but a few of the tough reforms we need to come to terms with, always remembering that improvement will require disciplining ourselves, and not just modifying our neighbors' behavior.

The arena in which our cultural struggle will ultimately be won or lost is within the human heart. "For most of the things that properly can be called evils in the present," wrote Oliver Wendell Holmes, "I think the main remedy...is for us to grow more civilized." And so it is. As we approach the end of the last decade of this century, it is worth restating an obvious but often overlooked truth: Social regeneration depends on individual citizens living better, more honorable, more devoted lives. Not perfect lives, mind you. Just lives that reflect the basic and modest character traits—self-discipline, civic-mindedness, honesty, responsibility, and perseverance—that the Founding Fathers understood to be the sheet anchor of a free republic.

There are things that both liberals and conservatives can do to help advance the debate. Liberals can reject the illusion that we are but one more fully funded government program away from turning things around, can stop insisting that no progress can be made until we deal with economic "root causes" of behavioral decay, and stop ridiculing the religious and moral beliefs of conservative Christians.

Conservatives can resist the impulse to pander. It is wrong to say, in effect, that all is well with the American people—and that whatever is not well with them is somebody else's (usually a liberal's) fault. Contemporary liberalism does have a lot to answer for. But the argument that bad programs and bad behavior have been foisted upon a victimized and helpless public is not in keeping with conservatism's best tradition.

Previous civilizations have been overthrown from without; our present dissolution has been from within, which means it is entirely within our capacity to save ourselves. But the hour is growing late, very late. Many have heard the chimes at midnight. It's time we set to work.

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Sex, Families, Race, Poverty, Welfare

A Symposium Revisiting the Moynihan Report at Its Thirtieth Anniversary

Walter E. Williams

By nearly any measure, Patrick Moynihan's warning about the black family was right. Unfortunately, our response was to kill the messenger. We accepted the counsel of "experts" such as Andrew Cherlin, a sociologist at John Hopkins University, who argued that it had yet to be shown that the "absence of a father was directly responsible for any of the supposed deficiencies of broken homes" and that the real issue "is not the lack of male presence but the lack of male income." National policy supporting the vision that fathers can be replaced by a monthly welfare check played a significant role in the erosion of the black family.

Today's rate of illegitimacy and single-parent households is unprecedented in black history. During periods of slavery, Jim Crowism, and codified racial discrimination, more black children lived in two-parent families than do today. That observation should give pause to "experts" who advance the argument that today's social pathology is a result of racism and poverty. If that is the case, how can they explain why many unwed black families (often 80 percent and higher) were two-parent at a time when there was much more racism, poverty, and fewer opportunities? The unambiguous bottom line is that the welfare state has done to the black family what slavery, Jim Crowism, and the rankest racism could never have done.

Walter E. Williams is John M. Olin Distinguished Professor of Economics, George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia.

Barbara Dafoe Whitehead

The Moynihan report is one of those rare documents that becomes more topical with each passing year. Its central insight—that widespread family disintegration represents a new source of social and economic inequality—is even more compelling today than it was in 1965. Even its language seems fresh: fatherless families, broken homes, illegitimacy, and (famously) a "tangle of pathologies."

Although there is much to admire in the report's contemporaneity, there is little to cheer. That the crisis of the family would become so deep and widespread in so short a period of time was nearly unthinkable in the 1960s. Few realized how profoundly the sex and divorce revolution, then only gathering steam, would change the way Americans think about and organize their most important family relationships and commitments. As a result, in the 1990s the problem of family structure transcends both race and class. It has become a problem of all American families.

Yet the problem cannot be captured simply by calculating the growing number of broken families. There is a cultural as well as a demographic dimension to family breakup. Culturally, marriage is declining as the foundation for childrearing and long-term parental investment in children. Once joined together, marriage and parenthood are splitting apart. Teenagers have grasped this idea as quickly as they have latched on to other culturally significant ideas. In some places in America, teenagers routinely flock to their friends' baby showers (and funerals), but never to a wedding. Writing of unwed teen parents in the fall issue of *City Journal*, Kay Hymowitz observes, "Marriage, as far as these kids are concerned, is gone, dead, an unword."

A rapidly entrenching culture of divorce and nonmarriage makes the problem of disintegrating families more intractable, less treatable with conventional policy measures. But clearly there is growing consensus on some essential first steps: welfare reform, a campaign to reduce unwed teen parenthood, an effort to create jobs with decent pay and benefits. However, the policy consensus falters on one issue: divorce. There are political risks in an effort to bring down the historically high levels of divorce, since both the American middle class and opinion elites are implicated in and ambivalent about divorce trends. Yet along with the growing inequality of earnings, divorce is the great generator of diverging economic futures for middle-class families and their children. The problem will not go away if divorce holds steady. It will take the same kind of courage and prophetic insight exemplified by the Moynihan report to make the case for national action against divorce.

Barbara Dafoe Whitehead is writing a book on marriage.

Lee Rainwater

Rereading the Moynihan report, I am struck by how useful the story it tells is for understanding American poverty, and minority poverty in particular, in the 1990s. The numbers have changed—gotten much worse—but the forces that reproduce poverty are much the same.

There is also depression that after 30 years the policy process Moynihan proposed has made so little headway. A mythical Moynihan report is sometimes used to justify lurid fantasies about where our society is going, and to give a patina of scientific justification for policy proposals so harsh that they would get

WALTER WILLIAMS MARTIN ANDERSON EUGENE GENOVESE GEORGE GILDER MICKEY KAUS JOE LIEBERMAN GLENN LOURY CHARLES MURRAY LEE RAINWATER BARBARA DAFOE WHITEHEAD

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no serious hearing in any other democracy.

It is important to understand that the report was the centerpiece of a year-long effort to bring into the Johnson administration a new way of thinking about social policy—complementing the report were an article in *Daedalus*, a memo of policy recommendations to the White House, an unprecedented speech at Howard University that Moynihan and Richard Goodwin drafted for the president, and an article in *America*.

In all of these Moynihan hewed to a central goal, clearly stated in the *America* article, to bring about the "adopting of a national policy directed to the quality and stability of American family life." Only in this way could meaningful equality (of results, not just opportunities) be achieved. The situation of the Negro family presented the most egregious case of society's failure to achieve this kind of equality. His warning then was prophetic: "The principal challenge of the next phase of the Negro revolution is to make certain that equality of results will now follow. If we do not, there will be no social peace in the United States for generations." Who today can confidently foresee social peace in this country?

In his memo to the White House, Moynihan proposed policy initiatives that could begin the government's effort to provide stabilizing resources to the Negro family. (In other writings he made clear that these initiatives would benefit other groups as well.) Jobs and the income they bring had primacy. Housing programs were required to enable an escape from the ghetto to the suburbs. Birth control programs were sorely needed. Social programs should be better designed to hold families together. Very little of this agenda is to be found in our programs today. Rising earnings and inequality and stunted social programs instead have brought the poverty of white, black, and Hispanic families to new highs.

An effort today to renew the breakthrough in policy thinking that Moynihan started would undoubtedly look very different from his efforts in 1964–65—much has changed in American society since then. But the report continues to serve as an essential guide to how to think about what government might do to further the goals of equality and social tranquility.

Lee Rainwater is professor emeritus of sociology at Harvard University.

Charles Murray

A friend recently called to commiserate about the assault that has greeted the publication of *The Bell Curve*. A liberal Democrat and child of the sixties, she was especially troubled because she now understands she was part of the wrong side in a similar brouhaha 30 years ago. She told me about marching in a protest over the Moynihan report. She had shouted dissenting slogans, called Moynihan a racist, and derided his idea that the family was essential to a civil society. She was thinking back not just with the usual sense of what idiots we all were at that age, but with a deeper sadness that someone had been so right, and said so, when there was still time to do something about it—and the warning had been so completely ignored.

What was right in 1964 about blacks is right in 1994 about whites, and simple arithmetic—America has almost six times as many whites as blacks—makes the prospects for America much grimmer. As Pat Moynihan the social scientist surely understands, tinkering with the welfare system is not enough, and President Clinton's plan is guaranteed to have no more than trivial effects. Effective reform is going to require radical change that can only be passed with the expenditure of substantial political capital by Democrats from urbanized states. How much influence does Pat Moynihan the prescient social scientist have with the senior senator from New York?

How much influence does Pat Moynihan the prescient social scientist have with the senior senator from New York?

—Charles Murray

Charles Murray is Bradley Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

Glenn C. Loury

By daring to suggest that dysfunctional family behavior among poor blacks constituted an insuperable barrier to economic equality, Moynihan elicited an emotional, ideologically charged response that permanently altered racial discourse in America. The now-familiar indictment, "blaming the victim," literally was invented in reaction to Moynihan's argument. A dear price was paid for this response, though not by those who led the charge. In the years since, the social disruption that so alarmed Moynihan has continued apace. The intellectual rubble of that earlier period has yet to be fully cleared.

Remarkably, one still encounters the same line that was used to dismiss Moynihan 30 years ago—that acknowledging a behavioral basis to economic deprivation feeds stereotypes about blacks and provides grist for the racists' mill. As if the facts about inner-city life, staggeringly evident to anyone with eyes to see, could be blunted by simply banning any discussion of them from polite society.

What in the 1960s was a question about black society has in the 1990s become critical for all Americans. Charles Murray has announced to much fanfare the coming of the white underclass. Having essentially written off the black community as a lost cause—with an illegitimacy rate near two-thirds nationwide, and even higher in the inner city—pundits, politicians, and scholars now come to contemplate what might be done to save the rest of America. The answer seems to be that we must place greater emphasis on "values." And, while I am all in favor of this, I am less than sanguine that the fix will be so easy. It is quite unclear what, in practical terms, politicians talking about "values" can be expected to achieve. Nor can I have much confidence that Mr. Murray's incentive-based arguments—cut public support and deny child support to unwed mothers—will reverse the trend.

People are not automatons; their behavior in matters sexual cannot be pushed around by manipulating their marginal tax rates. The problems of illegitimacy

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and family breakdown are, at base, spiritual problems, which require spiritual solutions. The emergence of morally authoritative public leadership can have only a small effect here, and is unlikely to occur in any event. Yet, in every community there are agencies of moral and cultural developments that seek to shape the ways in which individuals conceive of their duties to themselves, of their obligations to each other, and of their responsibilities before God. These mainly though not exclusively religious institutions are the natural sources of legitimate moral teaching—indeed, the only sources. If these institutions are not restored, through the devoted agency of the people and not their government, then the behavioral problems that Moynihan first noticed 30 years ago will persist, threatening the survival of our republic.

People are not automatons; their behavior in matters sexual cannot be pushed around by manipulating their marginal tax rates. The problems of illegitimacy and family breakdown are, at base, spiritual.

—Glenn Loury

Glenn C. Loury is professor of economics at Boston University.

Joe Lieberman

Thirty years ago, Pat Moynihan's *The Negro Family* boldly asserted that rising rates of illegitimacy and single-parent families in the black community isolated blacks culturally and economically and threatened black America's quest for equality. The report urged national action to restore the black family to the American norm. The report got Pat into a lot of trouble. But of course he was right, and we have all paid a high price for ignoring his call to action.

Thirty years later we find that rates of illegitimacy are startlingly close to 70 percent in the African-American community and that children born to unmarried mothers are much more likely to be psychologically, economically, and culturally disadvantaged, and unable to take advantage of the equal opportunities our country provides. They are also a disproportionate part of some of our most pervasive societal ills—crime, unemployment, and illiteracy. And, as Charles Murray has warned, the problem of illegitimacy becomes even more menacing as illegitimacy rates rise dramatically among white and Hispanic Americans.

Not only has the crisis deepened, but the American norm that Moynihan described has changed, with one study claiming that 70 percent of young Americans (18 to 34) do not consider births to unwed mothers to be immoral. I find that statistic hard to believe, but it confirms that a change in what behavior is acceptable has occurred.

The coming congressional effort at welfare reform will give America a second chance to heed Moynihan's call. We must begin by reestablishing the norm, by restigmatizing births out of wedlock. In light of the consequences for the child, it is immoral, irresponsible, and anti-social to have a baby when not married, particularly if you are poor and young, as most unwed mothers and fathers are.

What else can we do? Our understanding of the causes of family breakdown is limited, and we have few programmatic responses proven effective. But the need for action is even more urgent now than it was 30 years ago, and government must help find some effective answers.

If nothing else, government must eliminate the ways in which government itself has good-naturedly become part of the problem. In other words, we must change the government's welfare system. By rewarding single parents who don't work, don't marry, and have additional children out of wedlock, the current system demeans our most cherished values and deepens society's most serious problems. Last year both President Clinton and Republicans in Congress proposed legislation that would impose time limits and work requirements on welfare recipients and would begin to turn welfare incentives around.

Unfortunately, by the end of the last session, some members had moved from welfare reform to welfare repeal and thereby jeopardized the growing consensus for reform. Mandating untested nationwide welfare changes overnight could put millions of children and—because they represent a sizable part of the next generation—society at risk, with uncertain results. We must not replace one failed government program with another.

A better approach is to implement at a national level those reforms—such as a short welfare time limit and work requirements—about which there is broad agreement. At the same time, we should encourage the states to become the testing ground for an array of bold proposals for welfare reform that are promising but unproven or that involve some human or financial risk, such as freezing AFDC benefits after one child, or eliminating AFDC benefits altogether so that the money may be used to create residential schools and child-centered programs that would assist in raising children born out of wedlock to poor mothers.

I have proposed legislation that would first give states the flexibility and resources to fulfill this pathfinding role and then require the secretary of HHS to report back to Congress within three years on which state tests have worked and should then be mandated nationally.

Welfare reform must not be allowed to be sidetracked by those who want to protect the disastrous status quo or those who want to rush to untested extremes. We will have missed a critical opportunity to strengthen the American family—black and white—and to improve our society if, as we finally respond to our own prophet Patrick, we ignore the counsel of Proverbs to eschew zeal without knowledge.

Joe Lieberman is a Democratic senator from Connecticut.

The 1965 Moynihan report, perversely, had the effect of removing the issue it raised from the national discourse for two decades. I believe (equally perversely) that this was partly Moynihan's fault.

In his report, Moynihan offered no solutions to the problem of black family disintegration. That wasn't because he had no solutions in mind—at the time, he favored a large federal jobs program to provide employment to black men. But

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Moynihan was working for the Johnson administration, and Lyndon Johnson was clearly opposed to spending billions on a jobs program. So Moynihan left that proposal out.

Moynihan later claimed that his failure to offer a solution "was a tactical advantage," because criticism would have focused on whatever it was he proposed. In fact, it was a huge mistake. Moynihan was criticized anyway. But if he'd included the jobs proposal, it wouldn't have been possible for critics on the Left to call him racist for ignoring the link between unemployment and family breakdown. Nor would it have been possible to characterize the report as a rationale for inaction. Some black leaders, such as Martin Luther King, Jr., might even have embraced Moynihan's argument.

After the report came under attack, Moynihan desperately tried to correct his mistake, going on television to explain that he favored employment, education, and housing programs. In essence, he was trying to add to his report its missing chapter—the one with the solutions. But it was too late.

Did Moynihan seriously believe the debate would be improved if he left out his jobs proposal? Or was he being a good careerist, cleansing his report of an idea that might offend his boss, LBJ? I don't know. But if he'd stuck to his beliefs in 1965 (on pain of being fired, perhaps) we might not be remembering him as the man who tried and failed to provoke honest discussion of the underclass problem. We might remember him as the man who succeeded in drawing attention to its solution.

Mickey Kaus is the author of *The End of Equality* and a senior editor at *The New Republic.*

George Gilder

In 1965, Daniel Patrick Moynihan wrote a report on the plight of the black family that was so luminously true in all major particulars that it blinded nearly all who read it, possibly including the author himself. In the report he pointed out that the rate of welfare dependency and the rate of unemployment, long reliably correlated, were diverging sharply. In the midst of the 1960s boom, the welfare rolls had ratcheted intractably upward while unemployment slid steadily down. Behind this anomaly, Moynihan saw—amid academic waffles—was the transformation of the welfare state from a remedy for poverty into the cause of it. Welfare created poverty by disrupting the fabric of sexual roles and responsibilities that sustain families and uphold civilization.

Moynihan quoted Edward Wight Bakke, explaining that the welfare check normally goes to the woman and is often accompanied by female social workers. The man, already suffering from his failure as provider, is further demoralized by becoming dependent on two women, one of them a stranger. "His role is reduced to that of errand boy to and from the relief office." Citing such conservative sources as J. D. Unwin's *Sex and Culture,* Moynihan concluded that any society that permits such a breakdown "invites chaos and gets it."

This analysis properly focused on the socialization of young men as the prime function of family and society. Society, as Moynihan put it, is continually beset by "invasions of barbarians," i.e., teenaged boys. Unless they are tamed by marriage and the provider role, they become enemies of civilization. Males rule, whether through economic power as in civilized societies or through violent coercion by the male gangs of the inner city (a so-called matriarchy where mothers cower in locked apartments, terrorized by their sons).

This realization of the facts of life should have prompted a national reappraisal of the impact of the welfare state and its associated educational system on the socialization of young men. But under the pressure of an imperious feminism, the entire political order, with no qualms from the ever-more influential Senator Moynihan, launched an obsessive and almost entirely successful drive to increase the income and independence of women. This effort focused on black women, seen as doubly afflicted and doubly suitable for affirmative action on the basis of both sex and race. In the 1960s, as Moynihan demonstrated with concern, black women were already beginning to surpass black men in the government workforce. By the 1980s, black women were earning 106 percent of the average income of white women of similar age and credentials. Together, the earnings and welfare benefits of black women came drastically to exceed the incomes of black men. This had a decisive effect on marriage and family formation.

In the arms of the dole, ghetto black illegitimacy rates rose to over 80 percent.

Cuckolded by the welfare state and deprived of any disciplinary structure or needed family role, young black men turned to the perennial male equalizers: greater physical strength and aggression, rape and violence. Today, in large American cities, fully 40 percent of young black men between the ages of 17 and 35 are in prison, on probation, or on the lam, and some 40 percent of young black women say they have been forced into unwanted sexual activity. This unspeakable social tragedy is the inevitable harvest of the policies that young Daniel Patrick Moynihan descried so vividly in 1965 and will continue as long as feminism is the regnant ideology of government, ravaging the lives and families of the poor.

In 1965 Daniel Patrick Moynihan wrote a report on the plight of the black family so luminously true that it blinded nearly all who read it, possibly including the author himself.

—George Gilder

The superior family and sexual roles of women must be counterbalanced by the superior male role in the job force if families are to be restored among the poor. It is simply impossible to foster successful marriages while subsidizing promiscuity and giving the woman full support for her children without marrying the father.

Perhaps most quixotic and perverse is the effort of the welfare state, after systematically destroying marriage, to replace it with so-called deadbeat dad crusades. Nothing is so futile as efforts to force men to support for life a child they "father" out of wedlock while abortion laws deny them any power to determine whether the child is born and

MICKEY KAUS JOE LIEBERMAN GLENN LOURY CHARLES MURRAY LEE RAINWATER WALTER WILLIAMS MARTIN ANDERSON EUGENE GENOVESE GEORGE GILDER

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while the welfare regime denies them any economic power to marry the mother.

Moynihan had it right in 1965. But the political culture, tragically, has rendered all his key insights nearly unspeakable.

George Gilder is the author of *Men and Marriage.*

Eugene Genovese

The response to Daniel Patrick Moynihan's analysis of the black family ought to have chilled us to the bone. Unfortunately, we let the issue be shunted aside, and the essentials of his prediction came to pass, and so we have had to relearn the hard way that the family remains the cradle of civilized life.

Moynihan erred in making the legacy of slavery largely responsible for the creeping dissolution of the black family, thereby inadvertently drawing attention away from the decisive effects of recent socio-economic changes. But he performed an inestimable service in calling for measures to support the two-parent black household. Indeed, the steady disappearance of the father—a condition he identified—has reached catastrophic proportions and engendered a near-total collapse of the black family. Moynihan also had the wit to perceive, even if he soft-pedaled it at the time, that the white family has been following suit.

The full horror of the crisis among blacks was recently identified by the Reverend Eugene Rivers, pastor of the Azusa Christian community in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in an article in the *Boston Review.* "As entry into the labor markets is increasingly dependent on education and high skills, we will see, perhaps, for the first time in the history of the United States, a generation of economically obsolete Americans. But remarkably, the tragedy we face is still worse. Unlike many of our ancestors, who came out of slavery and entered this century with strong backs, discipline, a thirst for literacy, deep religious faith, and hope in the face of monumental adversity, we have produced 'a generation who [do] not know the ways of the Lord'—a 'new jack' generation, ill-equipped to secure gainful employment even as productive slaves."

Moynihan made some excellent proposals for arresting the crisis in the black—and, by extension, white—family. But the roots of the crisis lay in a spiritual and moral breakdown, and Moynihan's fellow liberals have mounted a ferocious assault on the two-parent family, the social norm of heterosexuality, parental authority over children, and anything that smacks of serious religious commitment. The Moynihan report deserves to be dusted off and studied carefully, its wheat separated from its chaff. Ironically, the regime that has been raised to power by Moynihan's political party constitutes the primary obstacle to any such effort. He himself bears with equanimity his party's surrender to the radical feminists, gay liberationists, and thinly disguised nihilists who are assaulting what remains of family structure. We badly need his clear eye and strong voice and can only pray that he will recall what the Good Book says about uncertain trumpets.

Eugene D. Genovese is the author of *The Southern Tradition: The Achievement and Limitations of an American Conservatism.*

Glenn Loury

Our welfare system is a disgrace. Yet budding social engineers continue to concoct grandiose new schemes to expand welfare as we know it. If we insist on maintaining the current system we ought at least to follow three simple rules that would dramatically improve its operation:

Rule One: Crack Down on Flagrant Law-Breaking. If welfare recipients lie or steal or commit fraud they should pay the same penalty self-sufficient people pay for similar crimes. Every serious study of welfare caseloads turns up shameful rates of fraud—generally 20 percent and higher. A recent in-depth investigation of 216 welfare cases in southern California discovered that 62 percent of them were fraudulent.

Rule Two: Set Common-Sense Eligibility Standards for Welfare. We spend close to $10 billion a year on welfare for immigrants, refugees, and other noncitizens. We spend $2 billion a year on illegal aliens. We even have a federal welfare program that sends a large monthly check to an estimated 250,000 known drug addicts and alcoholics who often use the money to buy amphetamines, heroin, cocaine, and liquor. Always accommodating, the federal government will, if asked, send the check directly to a liquor store to set up a credit account for the alcoholic. This is nutty. We need to throw off the welfare rolls those who have no business being there and concentrate aid on the truly needy and deserving. This alone would sharply reduce the "welfare problem."

Rule Three: Punish Those Who Cause Welfare Dependency. Deadbeat dads making babies and financially abandoning them may be the single most costly source of welfare. We need a national manhunt for these lowlifes. Failure to support your children financially is a serious crime. Let's make it a felony and turn loose a posse of FBI agents. These young, and some not-so-young, studs who are abusing the generosity of our welfare system may think long and hard about begetting children if they know the consequence is either paying child support or spending a few years in jail.

If we follow these three simple rules carefully, virtually all of our "welfare problem" will vanish. Americans are extraordinarily compassionate and generous people, but they deeply resent being forced to give money to welfare frauds, to drug addicts and alcoholics, and to pay for the babies of callous men who abandon their families.

Martin Anderson is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution.

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The "Great Transformation"

Daniel Patrick Moynihan

The advent of the Kennedy administration in 1961 brought with it a much invigorated interest in full employment as national policy. Keynesian economists were securely in place, and the government was beginning to collect the kinds of data they needed to carry out their manipulations. There was now, for example, a monthly unemployment rate that became *the* number in an increasingly numerate capital.

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Simultaneously, there was a movement to view full employment as social and not simply economic policy. The thought had occurred that even a high demand economy would not do much for workers with inadequate skills.

One of the early, and rare, achievements of the new administration was the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. It provided for an annual Manpower Report to parallel the yearly Economic Report of the president. Education and training began to be seen as national problems *and* national responsibilities.

The Department of Labor established an Office of Policy Planning and Research—which, as an assistant secretary of labor, I headed—and soon it was working on the edges of what would come to be known as the problem of poverty. A vast data base presented itself to us in the annual returns of the Armed Forces Qualification Test and the accompanying medical examinations given to young males of draft age. At the behest of the Department of Labor, President Kennedy on September 30, 1963, appointed a Task Force on Manpower Conservation to review this data. The idea came from the Office of Policy Planning and Research, where the work was done.

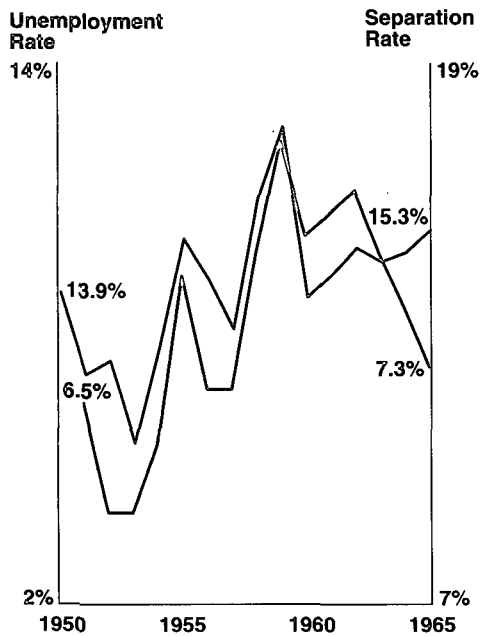
On January 5, 1964—not much more than three months later, government being a lot faster in those days—the study, *One Third of A Nation,* with its Rooseveltian reference, was released. In a statement I drafted, President Johnson reported "with utmost concern" the two principal findings:

> First, that one-third of the Nation's youth would, on examination, be found unqualified on the basis of standards set up for military service and
>
> Second, that poverty is the principal reason why these young men fail to meet those physical and mental standards.
>
> The findings of the Task Force are dramatic evidence that poverty is still with us, still exacting its price in spoiled lives and failed expectations. For entirely too many Americans the promise of American life is not being kept. In a nation as rich and productive as ours this is an intolerable situation.
>
> I shall shortly present to the Congress a program designed to attack the roots of poverty in our cities and rural areas. I wish to see an America in which no young person, whatever the circumstances, shall reach the age of twenty-one without the health, education, and skills that will give him an opportunity to be an effective citizen and a self-supporting individual. This opportunity is too often denied to those who grow up in a background of poverty.
>
> This war on poverty, however, will not be won overnight.

And so the war on poverty began. *One Third of A Nation* would be the principal data source for the group that now shaped the poverty program. The unavoidable emphasis was on lack of work qualifications among American youth, and the need for early intervention or subsequent remediation. The extraordinary state-to-state differences in test scores, for example, surely argued that social provision made a difference. It did not, of course, tell us which forms of social provision mattered. That conundrum was to come.

Back at the lab I began to look for correlations between employment and some of the conditions associated with poverty. Of these, family structure seemed the most obvious, and in no time I had a room filled with charts showing the closest of correlations between

Figure 1: Unemployment Rate and Marital Separation Rate for Nonwhites



Note: Separation rate is for women.
Unemployment rate is for males age 20 and over.
This chart is actually a correction of the one in the original publication, which transposed some data for 1950 to 1952.

Suddenly, marital breakdown no longer tracked job market failure among American minorities. If this had been more generally understood, I dare to think subsequent history could have been different.

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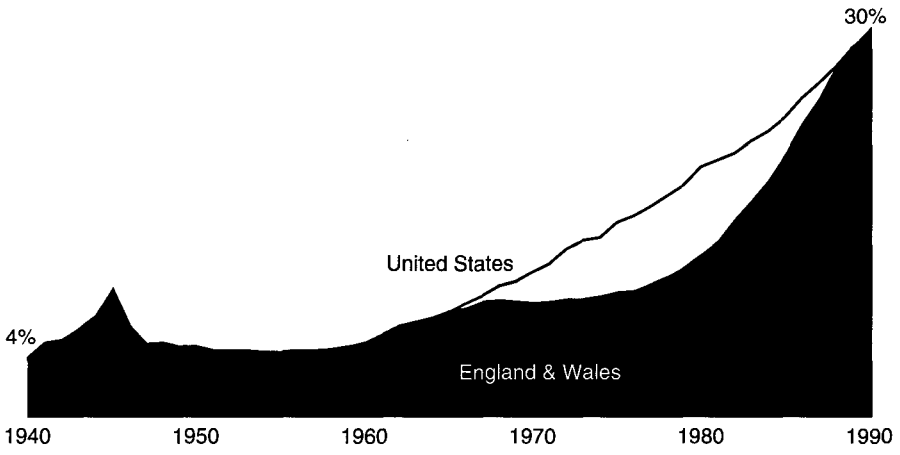
Next day, the *Washington Post* carried a column by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak entitled, "The Moynihan Report." A cottage industry sprang up among assorted professors and militants assembling proofs that what I had written was not so. Hadn't been so. Wouldn't be so.

joblessness and family instability from the early 1950s (when most of the data series began) up until the early 1960s. *Whereupon the correlation would disappear.* In 1967 I described this at some length in an article in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.* Figure 1 is an example from that paper.

Note the crossover in 1963 of previously near parallel curves. James Q. Wilson would later call these "Moynihan's Scissors," and he was almost alone—in this as in so much!—in seeing that *we had come upon something we couldn't explain.* Possibly something new. Suddenly, marital breakdown no longer tracked job market failure among American minorities. If this had been more generally understood, I dare to think subsequent history could have been different.

At this moment of discovery, my simple faith that employment would produce social stability was undone. (Which is not to say we don't need full employment; please, no more of that.) If such a faith seems simple-minded from this distance, may I plead that I was, am, a child of the 1930s when unemployment produced instability on a worldwide basis.

Figure 2: Percent of All Births Out-of-Wedlock (United States vs. England & Wales)



I next moved to a large and problematic hypothesis. We were seemingly approaching a new kind of crisis we simply did not understand. I wrote a report, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action." It began: "The United States is approaching a new crisis in race relations."

I was dealing with the hugely sensitive area of race. This was no accident. I was as much caught up with the civil rights cause as any member of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations. (Recall that the great March on Washington in the summer of 1963 was for "*Jobs* and Freedom.") Unemployment was clearly most severe among nonwhites; so were increasingly evident problems of dependency. But the sources of all this were murky.

My report was sent to Johnson in the spring of 1965. He decided to use it as the basis for a commencement address at Howard University. I wrote the first draft. The speech was a great success, coming at the height of Johnson's authority in these matters. (Years later he would send word to me that he considered it the greatest civil rights speech he ever gave.) Unfortunately some 68 days from the time of the Howard University speech, riots broke out in Watts, a neighborhood in Los Angeles. The White House press corps demanded to know how such a thing could happen at a time of such racial harmony and manifest progress. Bill Moyers, then press secretary, passed out copies of the until-then low-profile report.

Next day, the *Washington Post* carried a column by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak entitled, "The Moynihan Report." A cottage industry sprang up among assorted professors and militants assembling proofs that what I had written was not so. Hadn't been so. Wouldn't be so. The subject became caught up in the recriminations of the era that followed.

There was one exception, however. At the White House Conference to Fulfill These Rights, which Johnson had called for at Howard, Martin Luther King, Jr., said, "Thank you for your report." On a number of occasions, he spoke about it in thoughtful terms. Forty-two days before his death he had me down to a Miami meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to discuss it, among other matters.

In any case, nothing changed save that the phenomenon of nonmarital births soon appeared among persons of *all* races. In 1993, John R. Fowle III, a scientist on leave to the Senate, analyzed trends in U.S. out of wedlock birth rates and found that they fit several

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curves, including an exponential curve which projected that the U.S. rate would reach 50 percent by the year 2004. I mentioned this, perhaps too casually, to President Clinton, who repeated it in his 1994 State of the Union Message.

> We cannot renew our country when within a decade more than half of our children will be born into families where there is no marriage.

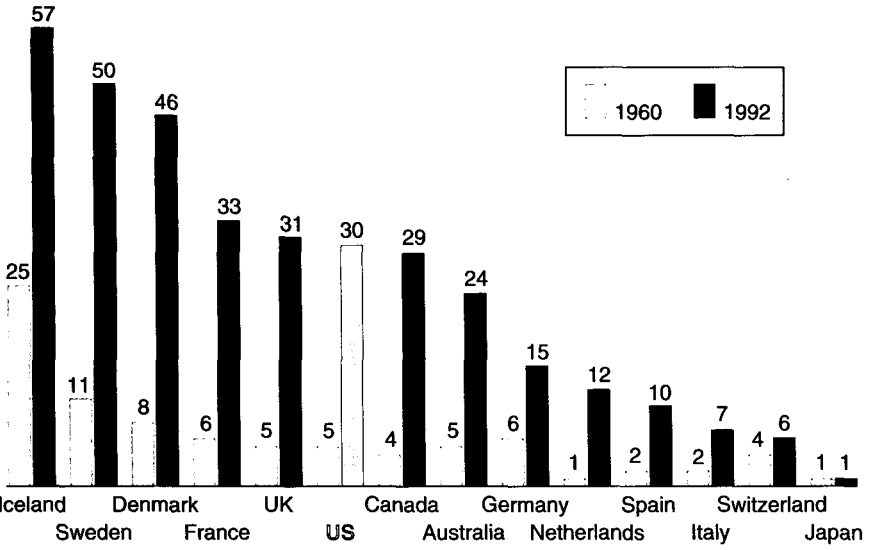
This presidential statement brought the very opposite reaction as had occurred 30 years previously. Whereas earlier there had been a huge response, now there was none. I cannot imagine that the president's statement was completely ignored by the media, not to mention the Congress, but I know of no such notice. Having examined our data, Professors Lee Rainwater and Reynolds Farley testified before the Senate Committee on Finance (during my attenuated tenure as chairman) that by the year 2000, 40 percent of American babies would surely be born outside marriage.

Now for the BIG surprise. It turns out that while no one was looking (no one over here at all events), the same worrisome bloom of nonmarital births was taking place "over there." Which is to say, Northern Europe. Figure 2, developed by Fowle and Cynthia Rice, a Javits Fellow at the Finance Committee, shows a transformation in England and Wales nearly identical to our own.

Of great note is the presence, and then disappearance, of expected influences on the out-of-wedlock birth rate. We begin in 1940 with the United States and England and Wales at the "historic" 4-percent-plus-or-minus-a-bit ratio. Then war breaks out. Millions of young males leave the continental United States. The ratio goes down. Several million arrive in the United Kingdom, where the ratio goes up. V-E Day, V-J Day, the ratio peaks on both sides of the Atlantic. Whereupon things return to normal. Until the mid-1960s—when an unbroken ascent commences. In part this growing proportion of all births coming out of wedlock may be ascribed to a decline in birth rates among married women. But that factor is not nearly sufficient to explain away this momentous change in social behavior.

As Figure 3 reveals, this change was to be seen across Northern Europe and Northern America. Canada trails just below the U.S. ratio, France just above. Italy and Switzerland are comparative laggards. We briefly entertained the hypothesis of distance from the Vatican as a causative, but then we observed Japan: 1 percent born out of wedlock in 1960, 1 percent in 1990.

Figure 3: Percent of Births That Are Out-of-Wedlock



Note: Germany is West Germany for 1960. Data for Canada and Spain are from 1991. Data for Japan are from 1990.

In his 1990 masterwork, *Foundations of Social Policy*, and later his 1992 Presidential Address to the American Sociological Association, James S. Coleman spoke of the "Great Transformation" of Western society in the eighteenth century, and of a similar transition taking place today.

> [M]odern societies are in the midst of a transformation in their very basis of organization. Brought on over the past two centuries, this is a change away from social organization derivative from the family and related primordial institutions, such as religious bodies.... [A]s the institutions of primordial social organization crumble [i]t is the task of sociologists...to ensure that [the] reconstruction of society is not naive, but sophisticated....

This is surely a political as well as a cultural and academic task. But the case that any of our political systems is equal to it is ambiguous at best.

As the institutions of primordial social organization crumble, the reconstruction of society is surely a political as well as a cultural and academic task. But the case that any of our political systems is equal to it is ambiguous at best.

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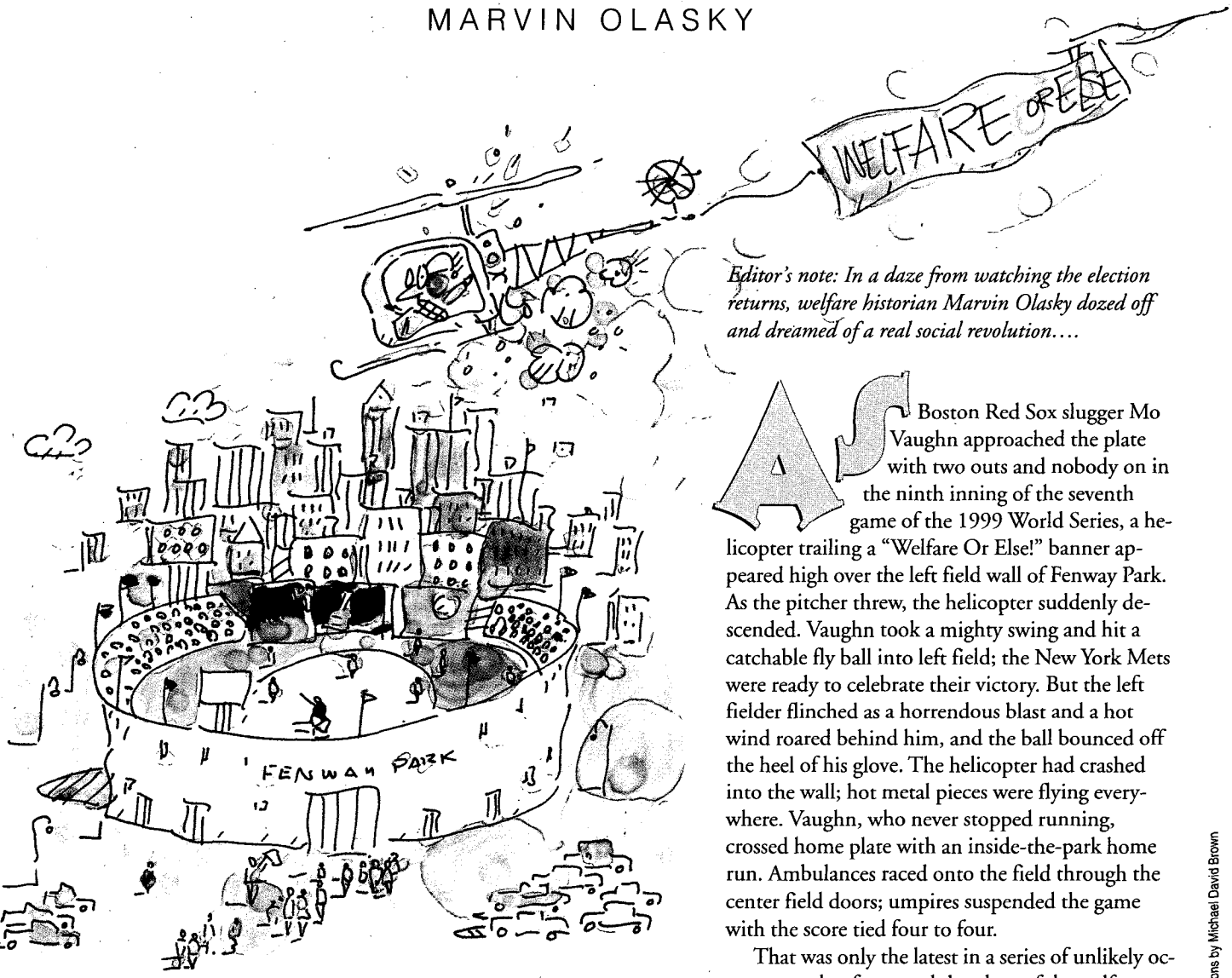
THE VIEW FROM 1999

A WELFARE FANTASY

MARVIN OLASKY



Editor's note: In a daze from watching the election returns, welfare historian Marvin Olasky dozed off and dreamed of a real social revolution....

As Boston Red Sox slugger Mo Vaughn approached the plate with two outs and nobody on in the ninth inning of the seventh game of the 1999 World Series, a helicopter trailing a "Welfare Or Else!" banner appeared high over the left field wall of Fenway Park. As the pitcher threw, the helicopter suddenly descended. Vaughn took a mighty swing and hit a catchable fly ball into left field; the New York Mets were ready to celebrate their victory. But the left fielder flinched as a horrendous blast and a hot wind roared behind him, and the ball bounced off the heel of his glove. The helicopter had crashed into the wall; hot metal pieces were flying everywhere. Vaughn, who never stopped running, crossed home plate with an inside-the-park home run. Ambulances raced onto the field through the center field doors; umpires suspended the game with the score tied four to four.

That was only the latest in a series of unlikely occurrences that frustrated the plans of the welfare lobby and contributed to a radical shift in AFDC

Illustrations by Michael David Brown

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and other programs. A massive workfare bill almost went through the new Republican Congress in 1995, but conservatives, seeing a new governmental bureaucracy in the works and realistically wondering how many welfare mothers were capable of working productively, decided at the last moment not to accept the conditions set by President Clinton. Not until the political and church-based revolutions of 1996—what became known as the "Spirit of '96"—passed through the land was the decades-old welfare logjam broken.

The political change is the easiest to explain. First there was the Democratic bloodbath in the 1994 elections. Then President Clinton's favorable ratings dipped below freezing and finally plummeted to the teens. Democratic party leaders asked him to step aside in favor of Vice President Gore. Clinton was ready to acquiesce, but—as Bob Woodward revealed in his book *The Intimidator*—Hillary Clinton said she would sue for divorce and leave Bill penniless if he left her powerless. So Clinton fought on, barely scraping by Jesse Jackson in the primaries and, in order to win a narrow victory at the convention, accepting Jackson's running mate choice of Richard Kreimer, a New Jersey homeless man who had won a famous court case against the public library that banned him because of his smell and his habit of accosting women.

Republicans had an even more frenzied primary road when none of a dozen candidates gained momentum and the journalist's dream, a deadlocked convention, became reality. After 15 fruitless ballots, which ESPN televised from start to finish because baseball players had gone on strike again, party leaders converged in an entirely smokeless room to select the person with the direct-talking appeal of Ross Perot but none of his detriments—Forrest Gump. Bill Bennett received the vice presidential nomination. The ticket had to endure media sneers about "Edgar Bergen and his talking dummy," but Candice Bergen came to the ticket's defense, noting that Republicans had attacked a fictional character (Murphy Brown) in 1992, and now were making restitution by putting another fictional character on their ticket.

Gump quickly ended the talk about his personal deficiencies by waging a campaign on the issues. His welfare reform stump speech, for example, clarified the question for millions of Americans. It went something like this: "Bill Clinton is offering boob bait for Bubbas, and we're not boobs. My momma told me, 'Fool me once, shame on you. Fool me twice, shame on me.' We've been fooled and fooled again on welfare. We're not gonna be fooled any more. Everyone knows that gummint cannot do the job. Its failure is like a mountain of garbage with a neon sign that says, 'When it comes to fighting poverty, government stinks.' If you can't read that sign of the times, you're a moron." During the presidential debates, shown exclusively on ESPN2, Clinton talked circles around Gump but lost votes every time he opened his mouth.

Bennett's vice presidential campaign presented him as an educator, not a hatchet man, and Bennett succeeded in teaching Americans the literal meaning of compassion: "suffering with." Democrats had equated compassion with the passage of billion-dollar programs, but Bennett pricked their balloon by describing how real compassion meant personal involvement; for example, adopting a child, suffering with an adult trying to reform his life, or—like the Good Samaritan—binding up the wounds of a mugging victim. The turning point in the vice presidential debate came when Bennett said, "We should help the handicapped, but we should not fund those who have handicapped themselves through drugs or alcohol." At that point Bennett's vice presidential opponent, Mr. Kreimer, leered at the camera and screamed obscenities at Bennett and even at perky Katie Couric, the moderator.

Gump and Bennett and Republicans in both houses of Congress swept to victory with a mandate for serious welfare reform. It is likely, however, that the political aspect of the "Spirit of '96" would have been short-lived without its better half, the charity revolution, and especially the burgeoning, religiously based "compassion circles." For a long time clergymen who had expressed concern about the plight of AFDC families had been overwhelmed by the numbers: how could private groups help 5 million mothers and their children? The problem was just too big. But a series of conferences in 1995 focused attention not on that huge statistic but on the number of unmarried new mothers entering AFDC for the first time every year: 300,000 nationwide, an average of 6,000 per state. Suddenly, action seemed possible: What if each small church and synagogue "adopted" a young mother and her baby? What if, in larger churches, groups within the church each took on a new low-income mother who would otherwise have gone on AFDC, promising to help her with her material, educational, and spiritual needs?

Such "suffering-with" compassion had earlier been evident in the church groups that

A MASSIVE WORKFARE BILL ALMOST WENT THROUGH THE NEW REPUBLICAN CONGRESS IN 1995, BUT CONSERVATIVES, SEEING A NEW GOVERNMENTAL BUREAUCRACY IN THE WORKS AND REALISTICALLY WONDERING HOW MANY WELFARE MOTHERS WERE CAPABLE OF WORKING PRODUCTIVELY, DECIDED AT THE LAST MOMENT NOT TO ACCEPT THE CONDITIONS SET BY PRESIDENT CLINTON.

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helped to resettle hundreds of thousands of refugees from Indochina during the 1970s and 1980s. Since the mid-1980s, church groups had also shown compassion through some 3,000 crisis pregnancy centers around the country that provided counseling and some material help, and "shelter home" networks that allowed young, pregnant mothers abandoned by boyfriends and parents to move into spare bedrooms in volunteers' homes for the remainders of their pregnancies. Such aid, however, often stopped soon after birth, when women and their infants were left to the tender mercies of the state.

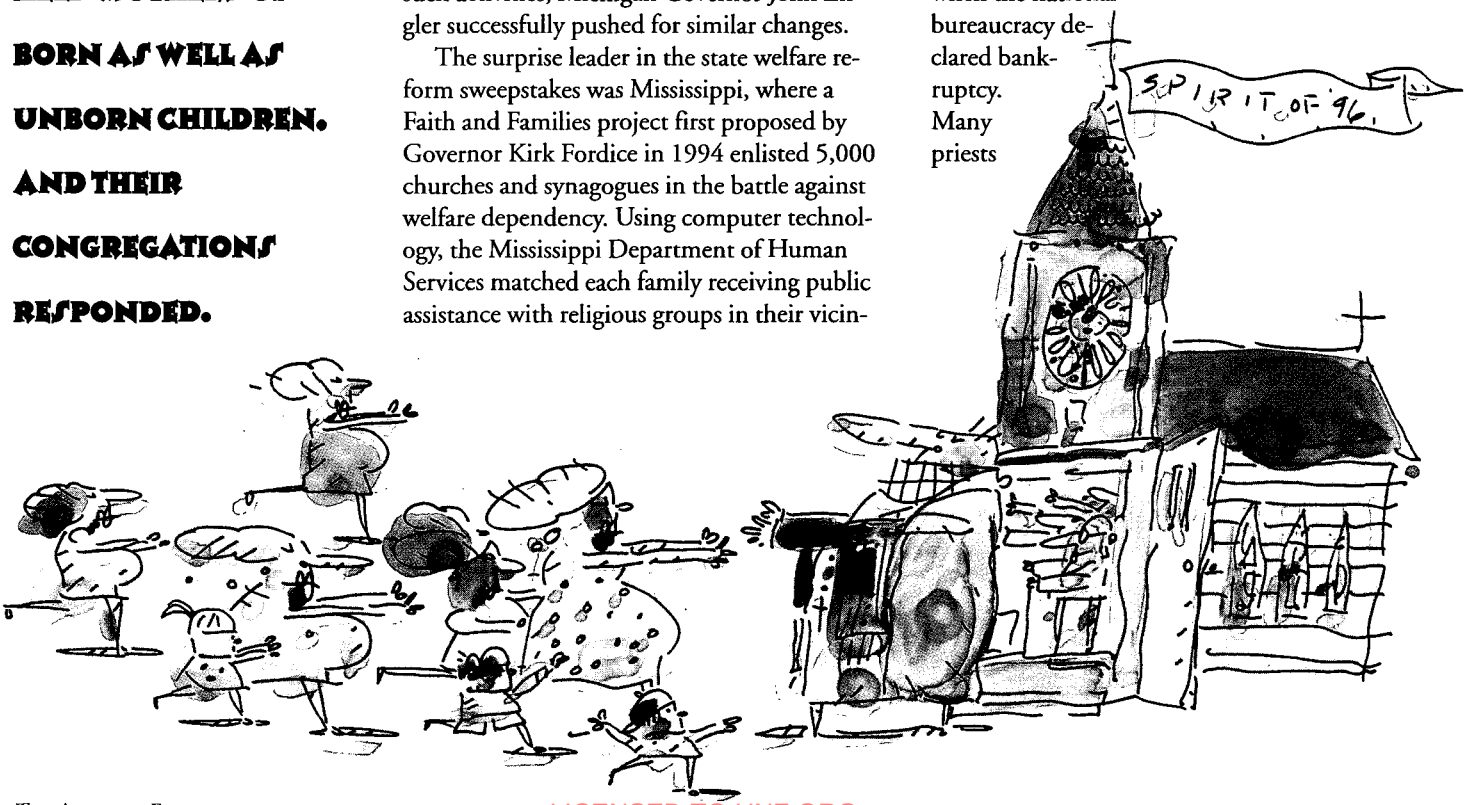
The big change began when clergymen, caught up in the "Spirit of '96," preached on the need to help mothers of born as well as unborn children, and their congregations responded. Instead of merely collecting monthly doles, young mothers began to receive personally tailored help as well as spiritual challenge. Salvation Army chapters, which often had become little more than governmental adjuncts and money conduits, redefined their roles to emphasize voluntary church action. Over 100 local chapters of Love, Inc., an evangelical charity organization, set up training programs for church deacons. Soon, churches in Charlottesville, Virginia; Fresno, California; and Lansing and Holland, Michigan, showed their capacity to take over local care for every new unmarried mother. In Virginia, the Governor's Committee on Citizen Empowerment worked to eliminate state regulations that hampered such activities; Michigan Governor John Engler successfully pushed for similar changes.

The surprise leader in the state welfare reform sweepstakes was Mississippi, where a Faith and Families project first proposed by Governor Kirk Fordice in 1994 enlisted 5,000 churches and synagogues in the battle against welfare dependency. Using computer technology, the Mississippi Department of Human Services matched each family receiving public assistance with religious groups in their vicinity; the churches and synagogues were often successful in teaching those families to become self-sufficient within two years. The *New York Times* sent Jason DeParle to Jackson to report on "a Baptist deacon helping a young mother find a job at his company" and "a WIC (Women in the Church) group of Presbyterian moms bringing an AFDC recipient into their Bible studies and social activities." Then DeParle flew on to Salt Lake City to write about the withering away of welfare in Utah, where the Mormon-run Church Welfare Program supplied food and household goods to those in need, while individual congregations arranged work and provided counseling and job training.

On the West Coast, a string of Jewish Centers established by Rabbi Daniel Lapin produced surprising transformations in both caregivers and care-receivers: Schools and synagogues set up by the rabbi began by simply urging nonpracticing Jews to keep Sabbath restrictions and soon opened Isaiah Houses to serve suffering Jews and Gentiles alike. Ben Stein and VJ Kennedy hosted an MTV special on the success stories—many involving troubled teens and their well-to-do Jewish families who had reknit frayed home ties as they struggled to keep kosher. Before long, attendance at the synagogues soared, with members marrying and having children at startling rates.

Catholic charities also changed. The Campaign for Human Development, the Church's version of United Way, suddenly collapsed when the national bureaucracy declared bankruptcy. Many priests

THE BIG CHANGE BEGAN WHEN CLERGYMEN, CAUGHT UP IN THE "SPIRIT OF '96," PREACHED ON THE NEED TO HELP MOTHERS OF BORN AS WELL AS UNBORN CHILDREN, AND THEIR CONGREGATIONS RESPONDED.



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and nuns, thrown out of work, abandoned their vows. Yet new priestly orders arose, emphasizing spartan training rituals and sacrificial service to the poor. Young athletes, black and white, joined these orders disproportionately; scoffers charged they were just exchanging their team uniforms for Catholic take-offs on the Salvation Army's, complete with gold braid and epaulets. One order, the Brothers of the Divine Vengeance (or Vengentines, for short) operated in the worst crime zones and sported the modern look of Power Rangers.

Inner-city black churches also got into the act with Simba programs to teach boys to be responsible fathers and leaders in the community: Black men, long overrepresented in the military, put boys through boot-camps with the unofficial slogan, "Punks to Men."

With these dramatic alternatives to governmental welfare already flourishing, politicians trying to phase out AFDC could point to an exit plan that would aid children, not abandon them.

The revival of personal compassion received a national boost on January 20, 1997, when Gump gave the shortest inaugural address on record: "I got to pee," he said, then ran off, trailed by frantic Secret Service agents.

Providentially, Bennett was able to fill in with an extemporaneous plea for hard-headed but soft-hearted compassion that emphasized work, personal responsibility, and loyalty within families. His speech was marred only by a man in a ponytail repeatedly demanding, "Will you make a commitment to meet our needs?"

During each of the new administration's first 100 days, Gump chief of staff Bill Kristol sent out faxes proposing the defunding of failed welfare programs and the implementation at the Department of Health and Human Services of what he called, "The New Pragmatism." HHS, he insisted, would stop supporting ineffective programs and would fund what worked, whether the programs were secular or church-based.

Early in 1997 it appeared that the legislative process for radical reform of welfare would be slow. *Washington Post* editors rehired one of their legendary reporters, Janet Cooke, to produce a scary series of stories about a fictional trio—"Harry, Thelma, and Louise"—who went on a fiery crime spree after having their welfare checks cut off. On Academy Awards night actors pinned food stamps to their lapels, and Tina Turner won a Best Actress Oscar for her depiction of an abused welfare mom who went through a government retraining program and became a hot nightclub singer. A Bloodworth-Thomason television series, *Twist and Shout,* depicted a cute child—"Oliver"—who slowly starved because the welfare checks stopped coming. His sad cry at the end of each show, "More, please," resounded through the land and won him a Best Actor Emmy.

WASHINGTON POST EDITORS REHIRED ONE OF THEIR LEGENDARY REPORTERS, JANET COOKE, TO PRODUCE A SCARY SERIES OF STORIES ABOUT A FICTIONAL TRIO—"HARRY, THELMA, AND LOUISE"—WHO WENT ON A FIERY CRIME SPREE AFTER HAVING THEIR WELFARE CHECKS CUT OFF.

Rupert Murdoch's Fox TV network did not follow the crowd. It made a splash with a series of documentaries called, *What Works—and What Doesn't.* Each week it examined a government antipoverty, housing, antidrug, or anti-alcohol program and compared it to an equivalent (although usually much smaller) private program that emphasized biblical teaching and offered "suffering-with" compassion alongside spiritual challenge. The investigators filmed what went on and looked at overall success rates—and week after week concluded that the Bible-based programs worked better than their secular counterparts. One of the most moving scenes came when a 43-year-old former drug dealer discussed how his life changed once he came to Victory Outreach, an inner-city ministry founded by and for addicts who turned to Christ and rejected their old lifestyles.

"What we've learned and the government hasn't," the former dealer said, "is that addiction is not a disease, it's something you do to yourself, it's an action you take: It's sin. I wasn't thinking about anything like my environment or peer pressure when I took a drug. I just wanted the drug. I knew it was going to feel good. I did it because I wanted to have everything—and I guess to some people, it would look like I did. I had my drugs, I had money from dealing drugs, I had my girlfriends, I had my gang around me. But I also had a void. I knew something was missing. I was trying to fill that void with drugs, with sex, with alcohol, but it wasn't working. What worked was when I knew I was at the bottom. That's when I found out about Victory Outreach, and through it the

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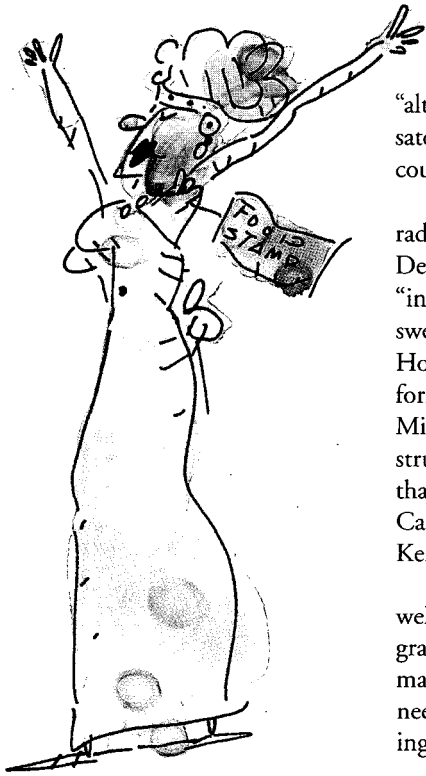
ON ACADEMY AWARDS NIGHT ACTORS PINNED FOOD STAMPS TO THEIR LAPELS. AND TINA TURNER WON A "BEST ACTRESS" OSCAR FOR HER DEPICTION OF AN ABUSED WELFARE MOM WHO WENT THROUGH A GOVERNMENT RETRAINING PROGRAM AND BECAME A HOT NIGHTCLUB SINGER.



healing power of a personal relationship with Jesus Christ."

Meanwhile, studies by the American Enterprise Institute came to similar conclusions: "Don't know why, but they work," Charles Murray was quoted as saying about programs like Victory Outreach. Soon, it became almost fashionable for reporters to criticize the welfare state and praise private and even church-based alternatives. Analyzing the most-used welfare-related metaphors of 1997, the Media Research Center showed that hundreds of reporters, and finally Dan Rather, were making statements like, "Our materialistic welfare state, stingy in its behavioral expectations, provides the equivalent of dog food in a bottomless bowl." One day Connie Chung came out with a report: "Many welfare programs are akin to keeping children in shoes with Velcro tabs, instead of teaching them how to tie shoelaces."

Other media chimed in. Either out of conviction or a desire to follow the election returns, *Time* magazine's report was surprisingly positive: "Success and spirituality go together," read its headlines, "Changing hearts, not just temporarily changing conditions, the key." Millions of Americans, in any event, were no longer getting their news from mainstream channels. They listened to Rush Limbaugh or a hundred local Limbaugh wannabes. Some read booming alternative magazines such as the news weekly *World,* or relied on newsletters and national fax alerts put out by groups like Focus on the Family. Others got information directly via computer, as the "alt.welfare" news group on Internet began to rival "alt.sex" in popularity. Still others tuned in to satellite television for unfiltered news and countercultural commentary.

Throughout early 1997 a consensus for radical welfare change was forming. But the Democratic minority in the Senate called for "incrementalism" and refused to accept the sweeping reforms shepherded through the House by Newt Gingrich and his welfare reform point man, Representative Jim Talent of Missouri. Republicans complained about "obstructionism," but the *Washington Post* opined that "gridlock" is good; welfare moms flooded Capitol Hill with faxes, and Senator Ted Kennedy led a Democratic filibuster.

Finally, a deal was struck. Those already on welfare faced changes that, although phased in gradually, packed some punch. The welfare marriage penalty was reduced. Paternity needed to be established for any child receiving AFDC. Mothers already enrolled in AFDC and food stamp programs did not receive any increased benefits for bearing additional children. Welfare benefits to any mother living alone were strictly limited. There were new work requirements. Total benefit packages were reduced to improve the comparative attractiveness of entry-level jobs. Underaged mothers were eligible for aid only in the form of vouchers redeemable at privately run group living quarters that provided firm direction as well as physical support and emotional nurture.

Congressional initiatives in related areas also had an effect. Abstinence education received a big boost in funding, and condom distribution was defunded. Drug and alcohol rehabilitation shifted sharply toward Victory Outreach and Alcoholics Anonymous-style approaches built on spiritual challenge, personal responsibility, and peer support, rather than on professional therapy.

A small but influential new school of child development experts succeeded in shifting the emphasis in social work for vulnerable families and children away from institutional day care, psychotherapy, drugs, and professionalization, and toward mother-to-mother counseling. After startling successes in England, this technique of pairing successful volunteer mentors with marginal and stressed parents—in cooperative nursery schools, in home visits, and so forth—received HHS support, much to the dismay of the Children's Defense Fund.

Generous tax credits and legal protections for adoption were also established, and an exciting network of small-scale group homes modeled on Boys Town and the Milton Hersey School and funded with government vouchers sprang up across the country to provide high-quality care for "social orphans" who had been abandoned by their parents.

The radical change came not for those already on welfare, but for those likely to be: from the time Forrest Gump signed the Help for Young Mothers and Children Act of 1997 (HYMCA) into law, AFDC accepted no new cases. Instead, an unmarried woman with a newborn child was encouraged to sign up with a group of perhaps 5 to 10 families within a local or community group; members of the mother's compassion circle pledged to help her become self-sustaining within two years. "Spirit of '96" church groups already had been doing this, but HYMCA gave contributing members of the compassion circle tax credits for their out-of-pocket expenditures. It also ended the "check in the mailbox" alternative. The unwed

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mother, instead of collecting her monthly dole, received financial and other kinds of help tailored to her particular situation by those who suffered with her. Instead of sitting in a building from which God and individual accountability had been banished, she was encouraged to join a fellowship of her choice that would support her and help her change her image of the world and herself.

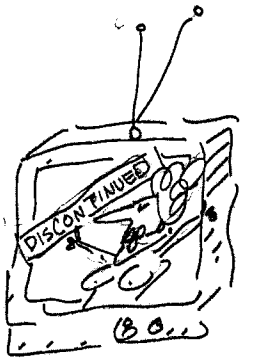
Many federal judges howled at this religious toleration, but the Supreme Court surprised everyone. After passionate argument from Gump's Solicitor General Hadley Arkes, the Court issued a stunning opinion, co-authored by seven Justices, built on an almost mystical passage from the famous *Casey* abortion decision of 1992: Aid to religious charities is acceptable, the Court concluded, not only because such charities advance the secular purpose of material assistance, but also because they help a citizen, in the *Casey* decision's words, to "better define the attributes of personhood, one's own concept of existence, of meaning, of the universe, and of the mystery of human life." (Cynical observers argued that the Court was just following the election returns—and perhaps also reacting to threats made by a rebellious group of 30 governors, led by Virginia's George Allen.)

Compassion circles were not without complications, but they generally worked because the helpers had strong personal and, usually, religious desires to make them effective. Recipients also showed great motivation to make the alternatives work because AFDC was no longer an option for them. Olasky's Law, "Bad charity drives out good," was supplemented by Gump's Corollary: "Folks will do the right thing if they have no other choice." The first HHS studies of the compassion circles, published just before the 1999 World Series, showed high success rates. The ACLU continued to complain about mixing church and state, but after the nation's frightening brush with nihilism in the urban "Hate Riots" of the mid-1990s, few people worried about that anymore, and even those who did found it hard to refute the clear results in the happier lives of women and children. The New Pragmatism was a success.

The New Pragmatism accompanied what *Newsweek* sarcastically called Neo-Victorianism. Pro-abstinence and personal loyalty programs such as True Love Waits, Promise Keepers, and Best Friends were ridiculed at first, but by 1997 they had earned wide respect. Even Jay Leno joked that it was "over the hump time for chastity." Teenagers by the hundreds of thousands signed pledges to remain virgins; some soon ignored them, but surveys showed that under-18 intercourse was down by 50 percent in metropolitan areas where abstinence movements blossomed. For those who did not want to be fashionably pure, the law stepped in: In state legislatures and in district attorneys' offices from 1996 through 1998, Andrea Dworkin and Ed Meese headed a curious coalition of conservatives and feminists who worked successfully to reimpose and enforce statutory rape laws. Not only did more girls say no, but every young male learned that if he pushed hard with an under-18 female and won a grudging yes, she could put him in jail. By 1999, under-18 intercourse was down by an additional 50 percent in areas where statutory rape was prosecuted. The toughening also put the brakes on the overall increase in sex crimes that saw the rate of forcible rape nearly triple from 1970 to the mid-1990s.

Neo-Victorianism even had an impact in Hollywood. For many years movies and television shows commonly depicted sexual activity outside of marriage as glamorous and exciting, while that which went on inside marriage was either ignored or sneered at as frumpy and undesirable. Most adults knew how unrealistic this was: surveys showed that 7 out of 10 married "traditionalists" (those who "strongly" believe out-of-wedlock sex is wrong) reported high sexual satisfaction, compared to 4 out of 10 unmarried "nontraditionalists" (those who have no or only some objection to sex outside of marriage). At first, these facts were recognized only in tacky bumper stickers; the most common had a smiley face with the words, "Marriage = Good Sex." But pressured by boycotts and propelled by the efforts of a Hollywood profamily coalition headed by Steven Spielberg, Mel Gibson, and Matt Williams, positive presentations of adultery largely disappeared from television, and most of the steamy movie scenes that remained took place in marriage beds.

Other surprising developments were also closely watched. The abortion rate increased during the first few months as new AFDC cases stopped being accepted, but then dipped as a new "culture of responsibility" began to emerge. The number of adoptions increased dramatically. Child abuse declined as more and more harried, unmarried women placed their children up for adoption at birth or developed their mothering skills in a group home, not in the dangerous terrain of a soli-



PRESSURED BY BOYCOTTS AND PROPELLED BY THE EFFORTS OF A HOLLYWOOD PROFAMILY COALITION HEADED BY STEVEN SPIELBERG, MEL GIBSON, AND MATT WILLIAMS, MOST STEAMY MOVIE AND TELEVISION SCENES TOOK PLACE IN MARRIAGE BEDS.

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BEN COHEN OF BEN AND JERRY'S ICE CREAM FAME WAS AN IRONIC VICTIM WHEN A PCP-USER LIVING ON SSI DISABILITY PAYMENTS SMASHED EVERY SKYLIGHT IN HIS NEW ENVIRONMENTALLY FRIENDLY SUBTERRANEAN HOME WHILE BURGLING 25 GALLONS OF AFDC CRUNCH® FROM HIS PERSONAL FREEZER.

tary apartment occupied by a screaming baby and an exhausted mother. Foster care decreased as younger children generally went straight into adoptive homes; older, hard-to-adopt children entered the impressive new orphanages and boarding schools paid for by the reduction of AFDC expenditures.

By 1999 a new consensus on how to prevent welfare dependency had become evident. Americans had come to understand the need for "suffering-with" compassion, the role of churches, synagogues, and mosques in providing it, the importance of abstinence and personal responsibility for both men and women, and the need for an adoption-friendly society. Additional shifts resulted from the near-collapse of public school systems in many states, which fueled the rapid expansion of home and nongovernment schools throughout the late 1990s. What most shocked the political and cultural establishment was the quickly demonstrated ability of these alternative schools to provide better education at a lower cost. In 48 of the 50 states, social progress was almost immediately evident.

One exception was California, which had characteristically gone to extremes: Instead of grandmothering in current welfare recipients and refusing to add any new mothers to the rolls, Californians passed a 1997 referendum that eliminated all welfare benefits. (The statewide depression that followed the big earthquake early in the year, and exposure of a cabal by social workers and teachers' unions to pay illegal immigrants $100 for each new welfare or public school enrollment, did not help the welfare-state cause.) In the rest of the country, charitable and voluntary groups were able to handle the river of new mothers; their California counterparts were overwhelmed by the flood of those who had been on the welfare plantation for years and were ill-equipped for independence.

Many of the cut-off long-term recipients in the Golden State succumbed to a recruitment drive by the Crips and Bloods, who armed their footsoldiers with semi-automatic weapons stored since 1994. Citizens who had abided by the series of antigun measures that began with the first of the six Brady bills had no access to defensive weapons when civil disorder broke out in the summer of 1999. A new song with a rhythm track of digitally sampled 9mm pistol shots—called "Everybody Run, the Welfare Mom Has Got a Gun!"—went platinum within a week.

Another set of problems arose in Massachusetts, which defied the national trend and, using state funds that rapidly ran out, kept adding new mothers to the welfare rolls. The Massachusetts government had to declare itself bankrupt in September 1999, and business throughout the state collapsed. Welfare payments were suspended, and an organization calling itself "Welfare or Else!" promised terrorist action, perhaps even including disruption of the 1999 World Series. Ben Cohen of Ben and Jerry's Ice Cream fame moved his company headquarters to Newton, Massachusetts, to express solidarity for the commonwealth's welfare policy. He was an ironic victim when a PCP-user living on SSI disability payments smashed every skylight in his new environmentally friendly subterranean home while burgling 25 gallons of AFDC Crunch® from his personal freezer.

The Massachusetts economy would have been in even worse shape but for the World Series, which pumped millions into Boston hotels and restaurants. On-the-field action was dramatic: as Salem witches winced, the Red Sox took a 3-games-to-1 lead only to lose the next two and trail in the ninth inning of the seventh game. But the "Welfare or Else!" helicopter crash, despite producing six deaths, was hailed for giving the Red Sox new life. When the tied, suspended game was resumed two days later, Red Sox pinch hitter Frankie Rodriguez doubled and the next batter, Trot Nixon, hit a ground ball to the Mets first baseman—but the ball went through his legs. Rodriguez scored and Boston won its first World Series since 1918.

Soon the thrill was gone, however. The next day, Red Sox owners announced that the Massachusetts economy's collapse had left them with no choice: the team was being sold to Hillary Clinton, who in the previous three years had made a fortune in pork futures. The Red Sox would be moved in the year 2000 to her new retirement home in St. Petersburg, Florida.

Marvin Olasky, a professor at the University of Texas at Austin, is editor of World *and author of* The Tragedy of American Compassion.

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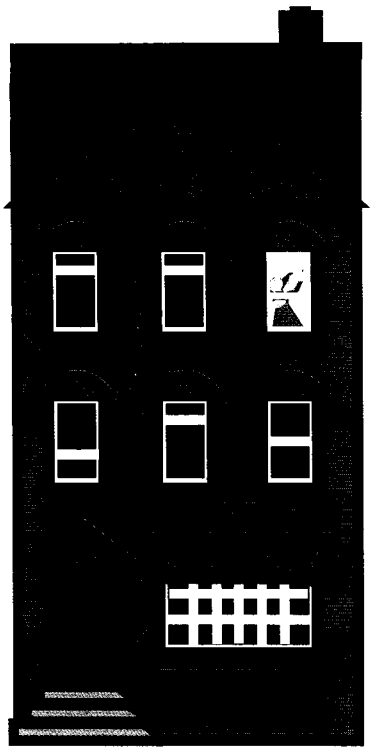

GEORGE LIEBMANN

BACK TO THE MATERNITY HOME

On March 18, 1993, as part of a larger effort to aid urban areas, Senator Bill Bradley proposed a nationwide network of maternity homes for young, unwed mothers—to be funded by the federal government initially to the tune of $250 million a year. These "Fifteen-Month Houses" would accommodate poor or teenage women during the last trimester of their pregnancy and the first year of their baby's life. The group homes would offer medical care, substance-abuse screening and treatment, and instruction in parenting skills. Children would be provided with nutritious food, immunizations and doctoring, and mental stimulation and care.

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While this initiative was inspired by successes at recently founded maternity homes in the Bronx and Los Angeles, homes for unwed mothers are hardly new in this country. Before the government offered cash payments to unmarried mothers, hundreds of private maternity homes provided vital services in every major city. These important institutions cared for tens of thousands of endangered women and children by building confidence, inculcating healthy new habits, actively discouraging illegitimacy, and working to integrate endangered families back into mainstream society.

There is nothing whatever to prevent maternity homes from carrying out these same useful tasks today. We need only set the stage—and then stop subsidizing the alternatives.

Before about 1915, there was no government aid at all for unwed mothers. Because an out-of-wedlock birth would bring a woman both serious economic hardship and community disapproval, such events were quite rare (comprising fewer than 4 percent of all births). There *were* provisions for women in crisis, however, in the form of an extensive network of private maternity homes. In Cleveland in 1925, for example, various groups ran five such residences, which between them served nearly all the unwed mothers in the city.

Some of the most prominent maternity homes were the Florence Crittenton Homes, which existed in numerous locations across the country. These have been the subject of several books, and the evidence shows they were generally quite successful in their humane missions. The Crittenton Homes shielded mothers from psychological or material worries during and after their confinement; they provided nutritional and medical services that encouraged healthy deliveries; they helped stressed individuals become better prepared to mother; and for women who lacked the means or capacity to raise their babies themselves, they helped arrange adoptions. These homes also sought to ensure, through moral and religious teaching, that an unmarried mother did not bear further children out of wedlock.

BEFORE THE GOVERNMENT OFFERED CASH PAYMENTS TO UNMARRIED MOTHERS, HUNDREDS OF PRIVATE MATERNITY HOMES PROVIDED VITAL SERVICES IN EVERY MAJOR CITY—INCULCATING HEALTHY NEW HABITS, ACTIVELY DISCOURAGING ILLEGITIMACY, AND WORKING TO INTEGRATE ENDANGERED FAMILIES BACK INTO MAINSTREAM SOCIETY.

In 1971, scholar Prudence Rains found the surviving Crittenton Homes to be fascinating examples of institutions in which rehabilitation, not just physical maintenance, was the main undertaking. During their period of residence, many maternity home clients experience what "could be described as conversion," according to Rains. The average stay at a Crittenton Home was 20 months, and, in the end, 60 percent of the mothers chose to place their children up for adoption.

Maternity homes have by no means disappeared from the national scene. (See nearby editors' boxes for a broad view and a close-up.) But it's true that most of those that existed prior to World War II were squeezed out of existence—despite their many benefits to hard-pressed women, endangered children, and society as a whole—by the vast growth of direct government payments to unwed mothers. In this, maternity homes were victims of a tragic error in social policy.

For most of American history, social workers and others who work with the poor have maintained that money is not what members of the underclass need most (see the story of Mary Richmond on pages 54–55). In the early decades of the twentieth century, providers of social aid "held as a fundamental principle that financial aid was a very minor, if not negligible element of family rehabilitation," notes R. Lubove.

Indeed, charitable activists warned, simply giving the poor funds could actually make things worse. It would "be obnoxious and injurious, would cultivate the pauper spirit, would increase pauperism, parasitism, and dependence" to hand cash to individual families, the New York Commission on Relief for Widowed Mothers cautioned in 1914. "To pension desertion or illegitimacy would, undoubtedly, have the effect of a premium on these crimes against society," stated Homer Folks. Reformers emphasized the moral roots of pauperism, and took the view that it would be, as the National Conference of Charities and Corrections argued in 1912, "a dangerous experiment [to try] to solve social problems by merely giving money."

Until enactment of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program in 1935, the financial and other needs of unwed mothers in America were handled either by friends and relatives or "on a relatively ad hoc basis relying in large part on private referrals and organization in the sphere of women," notes J. J. Brumberg. Private social services were built on "empathy, a sense of community responsibility, class orientation, religious fervor, and awareness of the double standard and knowledge of the exigencies of economic life for unmarried women," Brumberg reports.

In the welfare-less society, aid to women facing crisis pregnancies was centered in local maternity homes offering shelter, the company of peers, and the care of compassionate stewards. This local lattice of maternity homes began to fall apart only when the AFDC program was set up by the Roosevelt administration in 1935. And that damage was largely unintended.

During the mid-1930s, there were approximately 227,000 recipients of

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state mothers' pensions—virtually none of whom were parents of illegitimate children. The new AFDC legislation, however, quietly provided payments to unwed mothers on the same terms as widowed and abandoned mothers. This extension of cash aid to cover illegitimacy was basically a policy accident; a small cabal of bureaucrats engineered the plan without the participation of the responsible cabinet officer, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins. By the time Perkins discovered what she had wrought, it was too late to do anything about it, to her dismay. "She felt the Children's Bureau let her down on the provision," reports biographer G. D. Reilly.

> She always thought a "dependent mother" was a widow with small children or one whose children had been disabled in an industrial accident or one who married a ne'er-do-well who had deserted her or hit the bottle. She said it never occurred to her, in view of the fact that she'd been active in drives for homes that took care of mothers with illegitimate children, that these mothers would be called "dependent" in the new legislation. She blamed the huge illegitimacy rates among blacks on aid to mothers with dependent children.

Within two years of AFDC's enactment, the number of individuals receiving govern-

YOUNG UNWED MOTHERS AS A CLASS SHOULD BE VIEWED AS PERSONS PECULIARLY IN NEED OF SUPERVISION AND EDUCATION, AND NOT AS APPROPRIATE BENEFICIARIES OF UNCONDITIONAL CASH PAYMENTS. GROUP HOMES CAN PLAY AN EXTREMELY USEFUL ROLE IN THIS.

A BROAD OF HOMES

There is evidence that the number of maternity homes in the U.S., after falling for decades, bottomed out in about 1980, and that the total has since been struggling upward. Among other factors, new homes have been established under the auspices of the pro-life movement. In California, the rebound has been encouraged by a statute called the Pregnancy Freedom of Choice Act, which declares that "when an unmarried person under 21 years of age is pregnant she shall be provided the services of a licensed maternity home at her request or the request of her parent." This law has been on the books for a decade, but opponents in the legislature have reduced its effect by starving it for funds.

To the editors' knowledge, only one methodical survey of maternity homes has been conducted in the United States in recent years. It was carried out by physicians Elaine and Robert Yordan of the University of Connecticut Health Center, and it is scheduled to be published in the medical journal *Adolescent Pediatric Gynecology* by the time this magazine reaches print.

Drs. Yordan painstakingly queried local service agencies, WIC offices, and known maternity homes who might be able to lead them to others, and eventually located and surveyed by telephone 215 different institutions spread across every state except one (Wyoming). Of these residences, 174 eventually completed a detailed questionnaire. The findings:

Ten percent of the homes had been in operation 100 years or more. The oldest, Inwood House in New York City, has now been in continuous operation for 165 years. Homes were found in urban, suburban, and rural settings.

Fifty-nine percent functioned as part of a larger organization. Frequently cited were the Catholic Church, the Baptist Church, other churches, and the Salvation Army. Many homes include "staff members motivated by religious commitment," the authors report, and generally, "the day-to-day patient contact remains in the hands of loving, caring and dedicated individuals."

Eighty percent of the homes had a license from a state or local regulatory agency. Twenty percent were unlicensed.

Eighty-nine percent relied on private donations. Close to half of the institutions received funds from a sponsor organization, local welfare funds, and foundation grants, respectively. Thirty-five percent received money from child protective services. Twenty-four percent had private endowments. The least common source of funds was the federal government, which contributed to only 23 percent of the facilities. "Executive directors struggle each year to find the funding that keeps a tradition of service alive. Although no organized figures exist, it is widely believed that many maternity homes have had to reduce services or close because expenses exceeded income."

Twenty-nine percent of all homes admitted girls dependent on illicit drugs or alcohol. Forty-two percent offered private rooms. The median number of beds available for mothers was eight. Typically, the homes had two to four full-time employees, some part-time employees, and volunteers.

Services provided included social services of various sorts (90 percent), childbirth classes (84 percent), vocational training (54 percent), dietary counseling (49 percent), and accredited on-site schooling (35 percent). Fifty-three percent offered the services of a clinical psychologist. Prenatal care was available in all cases, usually in the offices of private physicians, and 99 percent of deliveries were in hospitals.

At the time of the survey, 25 percent of the homes reported they were sheltering girls age 13 or under. The commonest age of residents was 16 years.

The average stay was 4.7 months before birth and 2.4 months after birth. The maximum *allowed* stay at most homes was around nine months. Survey respondents "often expressed a wishfulness that they could shelter mothers and infants longer after birth. Financial impediments were the stumbling block."

The mean number of babies born per responding maternity home was 29.4 in 1991. The mean number of babies placed for adoption was 8.2 (that adoption rate is three times the national average for teenage mothers).

"Maternity homes for adolescents must continue to be supported," conclude the researchers.

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ment public assistance had more than doubled, including lots of unmarried mothers. Maternity homes went into eclipse. Institutions that expected behavioral reform could not compete with no-strings checks. Though some maternity homes sought to get the new AFDC disbursements channeled through their institutions instead of going directly to individuals (particularly in the case of very young mothers), no sufficient amount of AFDC aid ever flowed through the homes. Part of the problem was that as the 1930s and 1940s unfolded, social workers exhibited growing hostility toward maternity homes—primarily because of their moral and religious principles. "Many social workers believed that institutional treatment in maternity homes was incompatible with the 'individualized' therapeutic approach and ignored the similarities between this approach and the older one of individual reclamation," reports scholar M. J. Morton.

Thoughtless program rules, the lazy lure of simply offering checks instead of personal assistance, and a measure of ideological hostility toward private charitable relief among a thin but influential slice of the therapeutic community all combined fatally against maternity homes. Not coincidentally, unwed motherhood began its long climb to prominence at the same time.

It is time we fixed the error that worried Frances Perkins in 1935. Unwed motherhood should no longer generate entitlement to public cash aid or be perceived by teenage girls as the road to economic independence. Rather, as the timid 1988 welfare amendments began to suggest, young unwed mothers should receive their primary assistance from their own families, where extant, and from private group homes subsidized with public funds where family assistance is unavailable. Private maternity homes are currently experiencing a small renaissance, with new homes being established and existing homes expanding. This growth can and should be multiplied many fold.

Young unwed mothers as a class should be viewed as persons peculiarly in need of supervision, education, discipline, and reform, and not as appropriate beneficiaries of unconditional cash payments. Group homes can play an extremely useful role in this area. They are a way for communities to provide care in the critical months before and after birth, and to instruct new mothers in child care and the responsibilities of parenting. They can assist placements for adoption. And they can be the means by which the community discourages further out-of-wedlock births.

With all that in mind, the following program ought to be pursued:

Cash welfare benefits should be ended immediately for all new unwed mothers, who should instead receive, as an entitlement, group home care of a specified duration. After their period in residence, beneficiaries should receive supervision of their independent living arrangements. They should be offered easy access to counseling and social services. Mutual aid in the provision of child care should be promoted.

Since passage of the 1988 AFDC amendments, states have been allowed to disburse their aid to teenage unwed mothers in this form. But none has taken the initiative. It is time now to seize that opportunity and also to extend the same principle to mothers older than 18.

It will not work to fund maternity homes as a kind of add-on. Governments must simultaneously stop providing beneficiaries with other easier paths. Maternity homes, with the demands they place on their residents, will only root deeply if the alternative of responsibility-free cash payments is no longer available to women who bear children they cannot support. To provide for all new aid applicants from now on, funds previously appropriated for AFDC and food stamps should instead be channeled through group homes. This would assure adequate support for infants born out of wedlock, while simultaneously ending the liberating economic subsidies that illegitimate birth currently brings young women and their men.

America's new maternity homes should in no event become governmentally operated. Instead, as Senator Bradley proposed, there should be a substantial program of capital grants (akin to Hill-Burton payments to private hospitals) to foster new maternity homes run by voluntary agencies. And there should be no restriction with respect to religious content of programs so long as basic services are provided. All clients, after all, will enroll themselves voluntarily and choose their own homes.

In the 103rd Congress, Representative Chris Smith of New Jersey introduced a bill that aimed to assist the growth of new homes without stifling them under the regulations and attached strings that often accompany government money. It proposed to distribute vouchers to individuals rather than supporting institutions: "A bill to directly...establish a program to provide pregnant women with certificates to cover expenses incurred in receiving services at maternity and housing services facilities...." Just as government payments made to individuals can and do flow through religious hospitals, daycare centers, and universities, so too could a wide range of maternity homes qualify and compete for clients. (The Smith bill also had a provision directing the secretary of Housing and Urban Development to help

CURRENT AMERICAN WELFARE POLICY IS PLAGUED BY AN IDEOLOGY OF CASH ENTITLEMENT. WHAT THE POOR REALLY NEED TODAY IS NOT A CHECK BUT A POWERFUL SET OF REHABILITATIVE SOCIAL SERVICES. THESE SHOULD BE OFFERED BY PRIVATE COMMUNITY GROUPS, WITHOUT ANY ILLUSION OF MORAL NEUTRALITY. RESCUING AN UNDERCLASS IS BY DEFINITION A HIGHLY MORALISTIC UNDERTAKING.

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nonprofit entities of all sorts obtain and rehabilitate vacant government buildings for use as maternity homes.)

When clients leave maternity homes after perhaps a year or two of supervised residence, they should have access, in lieu of cash payments, to new federal per capita grants funding social services for unwed mothers. These social services should again be delivered via the voluntary, not the government, sector. In effect, each unwed mother would have an expense account she could cash in for private counseling, training, and services. Food stamps should remain an entitlement as at present, since unwed motherhood is not a condition of eligibility for them. It should be possible, however, to direct these payments to a maternity home or designated guardian in appropriate cases, instead of always paying them to an individual.

Even in the absence of federal action, there is much states can do on their own. Any state could immediately pass a law akin to the Pregnancy Freedom of Choice Act in California, which provides for

In 1971, scholar Prudence Rains found the surviving Crittenton Homes to be fascinating examples of institutions in which rehabilitation, not just physical maintenance, was the main undertaking. During their period of residence, many maternity home clients experience what "could be described as conversion," according to Rains.

Close Up on Crittenton

Florence Crittenton residences, established in the nineteenth century by a wealthy businessman-turned-philanthropist, were once the best-known string of maternity homes in the country. Today, many have drifted into other kinds of social work, but the maternity home function has not disappeared. Here are some snapshots:

◦ Columbus, Ohio: In 1992, Crittenton Family Services served 242 girls ages 13 to 21. While in residence, "young women receive training in fetal growth and development, labor and delivery…infant care, parenting, discipline, and play, in addition to attending school on a regular basis." Adoption services are available too. The organization also provides unrelated social services like divorce mediation, family life education, and substance-abuse treatment. About 6 percent of the $3.7 million annual budget is devoted to the maternity housing program.

◦ Denver: Human Services, Inc. operates the Florence Crittenton school for pregnant mothers, serving 150 students and 40 babies and providing "job training and job placement, prenatal and postnatal health education, child care, and training in parenting skills." About 60 percent of the annual budget comes from the United Way, client fees, and contributions, the balance from various government programs.

◦ Detroit: In 1992, the Lulu Belle Stewart Center acquired the first of five apartment buildings to be used to reinstate "and expand a transitional living program for young mothers and infants." Funding was provided by the W. K. Kellog Foundation and the City of Detroit. In addition, 449 parents participated in a parenting skills program funded by the United Way. One-hundred sixty-eight of the 183 births to mothers in the program were normal, 12 were premature, and three had congenital defects. Roughly 50 percent of the $2 million budget came from government agencies, 40 percent from the United Way, and 10 percent from other private donors.

◦ Houston: The DePelchin Children's Center, established in 1892, runs a 24-bed dormitory-style facility for pregnant mothers. The organization also operates shelters for runaway and abused children, parenting education classes, a large adoption program serving 1,200 individuals, and residential programs for emotionally disturbed adolescents. Approximately $300,000 of its $15 million budget was devoted to the maternity home, and about $1.5 million to maternity services. Government agencies provided 38 percent of revenues, program fees 2 percent, the United Way and other private sources about 40 percent.

◦ Toledo: Crittenton Services of Toledo continues to function as a traditional maternity home, furnishing residential services to 29 pregnant teens and 27 mothers with infants in 1991. Its modest revenues of $846,580 were derived from program fees (47 percent), the United Way (33 percent), government funds (13 percent), and donations and investment income (7 percent). The center has a capacity of 22. "They come in here kicking and screaming, because many are court-ordered. They hate the rules, the staff, the food. But then they go through the steps and end up crying when they have to leave," reports an administrator.

◦ Wheeling: The Florence Crittenton Home was founded in 1895. Its residential program includes two Victorian-style homes and a large modern facility. Approximately 100 full- and part-time staff are employed. Operating income in 1991–92 was $2.6 million, 50 percent from Medicaid, 37 percent from the state, 11 percent from donations and endowment income, and 2 percent from a community development block grant. One hundred fourteen mothers and infants participated in residential programs. "Florence Crittenton clients received medical attention and prenatal counseling resulting in an average maternal weight gain of 30 pounds or more, and an average newborn birth weight of 7 1/2 pounds."

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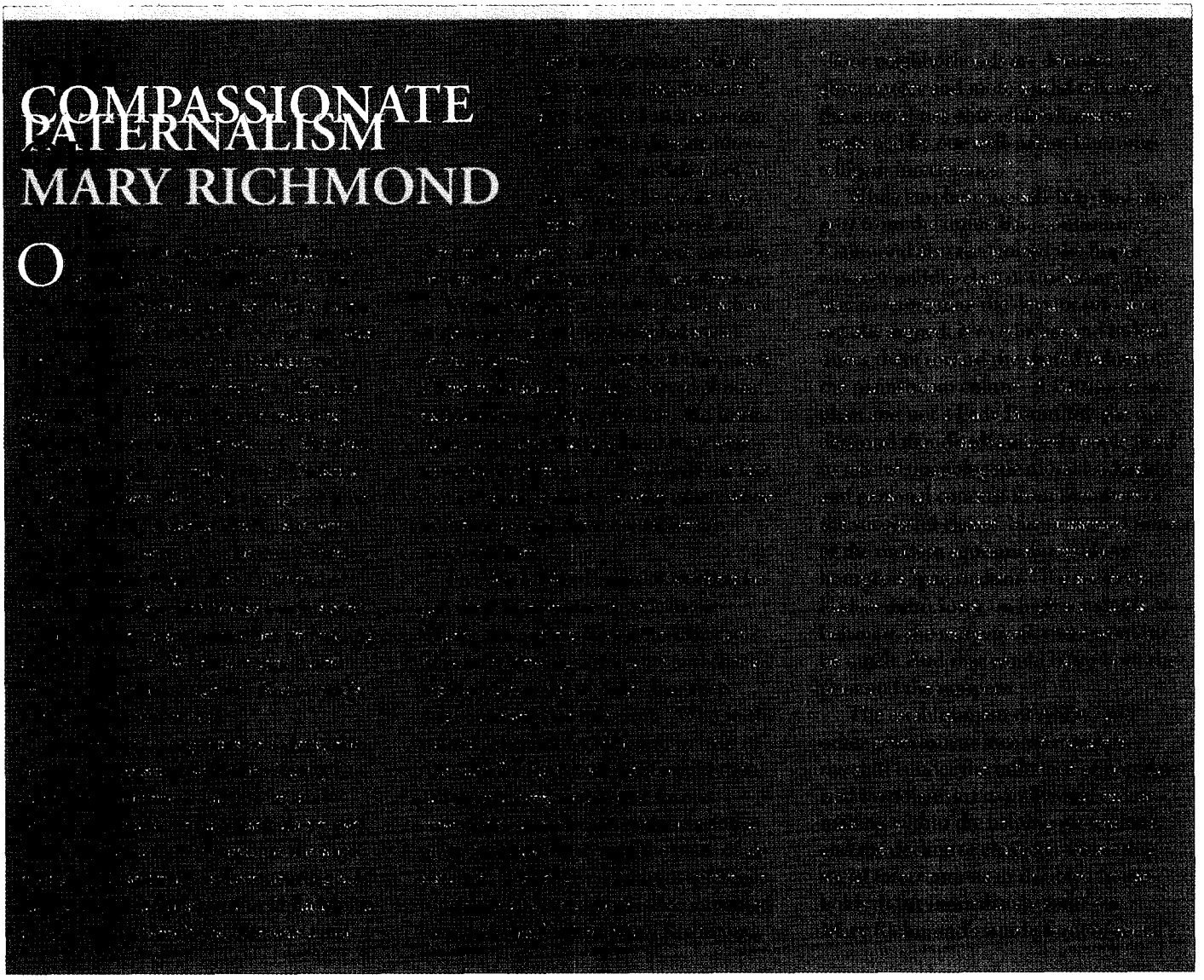
public payment of the full cost of maternity home care for at least six weeks preceding and six weeks following birth. Such measures would cost no more than $2,000–$3,000 per recipient above the currently available AFDC, food stamp, and Medicaid benefits for a three-month confinement, and the benefits would include improved prenatal and postnatal care, provision of adoption services, education in birth control methods not conflicting with the mother's religious precepts, assistance in formulating education and work plans, and discouragement of further out-of-wedlock births. The California legislation and recent measures in other states that provide outpatient counseling to pregnant mothers suggest that this is one area of policy in which the groups passionately favoring and opposing abortion can reach some agreement. (In any case, it is clear that abortion on demand offers no solution to our welfare problem. Twenty years of rising out-of-wedlock birthrates in the face of liberalized abortion laws demonstrate that. Whether a particular conception was intended or not, research indicates that most births out of wedlock among underclass women today are "wanted"—because motherhood creates entitlements.)

For most of American history, social workers and others who work with the poor have maintained that money is not what members of the underclass need most.

Current American welfare policy is plagued by an ideology of cash entitlement. What the poor really need today is not a check but a powerful set of rehabilitative social services. These should be offered by private community groups, without any illusion of moral neutrality.



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Rescuing an underclass is by definition a highly moralistic undertaking, and one that requires rescuers possessing equal measures of confidence, compassion, and personal knowledge of the people they are helping.

Although these suggestions may be unfamiliar—even jarring—to some readers, many are already partially accepted by statute. Let those with kneejerk critical responses justify continuation of our current colossal failures. Let them respond, preferably after a visit to one of the maternity homes operating today, with better alternatives. Let critics who regard these suggestions as paternalistic reflect on the fact that they relate to the redirection of men and women who in many cases operate beyond the boundaries of wholesome society, individuals who are producing frightfully neglected children while they are still children themselves, individuals who have received hardly any direction or training through conventional cultural channels. Let readers who think these proposals harsh consider the fallout of our last 30 years of welfare practice reflected in rates of illegitimate birth, child abuse, repeat abortion, and juvenile crime. Perhaps they will forgive the author's skepticism that wider distribution of monthly checks and condoms is all that is needed.

And perhaps they will come to favor an already-tried and well-proven approach for addressing one of the nation's most overwhelming problems.

❧

PRIVATE MATERNITY HOMES ARE CURRENTLY EXPERIENCING A SMALL RENAISSANCE. THIS GROWTH CAN AND SHOULD BE MULTIPLIED MANYFOLD.

work. Most of the supporters of AFDC in 1935 assumed that its cash payments would continue to be linked closely with behavior oversight. As late as 1954 the great sociologist Karl Mannheim could still observe that "the social worker gives not merely material help but spiritual healing," and that "official bureaucracy must be tempered by the charity of the primary groups."

But as state money and relativistic thinking increasingly took over, as bureaucracies began to bloat and individual "entitlements" began to be established, behavioral standards disappeared. All notions of necessary disciplines, of "deserving" and "undeserving" poor, were abandoned. State "suitable home" conditions on welfare benefits were invalidated by the Supreme Court in the early 1960s. Procedures for establishing eligibility for welfare benefits were converted to a simple "declaration" system as part of the "War on Poverty." Any continuing practices of careful household investigation and case-by-case intervention were eliminated. "Income maintenance"—cool and morally neutral—became the new goal of government welfare departments. By 1968, Professor Geoffrey Hazard could write that "notions of client involvement and rehabilitation" had become "alien" to our national welfare system.

That Mary Ellen Richmond would have mourned all this is quite clear from her published writing—which remains striking in its freshness, its sympathy, and its clear-eyed honesty about what depressed and disorganized members of society need from those who would aid them. Here are some samples:

◦ We must never allow ourselves to give alms to people we don't know all about.

◦ Human beings are different.... A genuinely democratic social program equalizes opportunity...and provides at the same time an administrative policy which does different things for different people.

◦ We do any man, rich or poor, a great wrong when we help to make it possible for him to live without human ties and without occupation. Upon the provision of work immediately, and upon the restoration of home ties whenever possible, all effective aid for the man on the street must be founded.

◦ Human beings are not dependent and domestic animals. [They] have wills and purposes of their own and are not fitted to play a passive part in the world; they deteriorate when they do.

◦ To approach any relief question from the point of view of the child's welfare only and to consider nothing else is a natural enough mistake to make, but its effect upon the child's life is disastrous.... We may hold the most approved views about family life and still be actively engaged in breaking it up when we fail to treat all questions of income and relief as the affair first of the head of the family.

◦ One...cannot but feel that those who write and lecture with such enthusiasm about socialism, individualism, and anarchism would all be benefited by a good stiff dose of case work. In many of their disquisitions one feels the lack of contact with social classes other than the group to which the writer belongs.

◦ Charity seems to me a thing that goes only a little way along the lines of business and then goes a much longer way along the lines of education.

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Photographs by Tammy Oehm

Louis M. Nanni and friend.

In 1981 the future looked bright for our Indiana kid. He was a first-round draft pick in the National Basketball Association after overcoming grinding poverty and other obstacles along the way. His professional career lasted six years. Upon retirement several lucrative job offers awaited the articulate college graduate. But then things fell apart. In 1993, he carried his overweight 6-foot-7 frame through the doors of the Center for the Homeless in South Bend, Indiana, where I serve as director. The primary cause of his homeless condition: a cocaine addiction and a trail of bad decisions...

Not By Bread Alone

Tough Love Heals the Homeless in South Bend

Louis M. Nanni

Over the last decade-and-a-half, an estimated ten thousand homeless shelters have sprung up across the land to feed and house people who would otherwise be on the streets. Though founded on good intentions, this shelter industry has done more to harm the homeless than to help them. Human warehouses in every city now provide food and warm lodging to individuals without providing them with opportunities to overcome the desperate conditions that are the root causes of their homelessness. What's more, many facilities are so overcrowded and dangerous that many homeless persons opt to sleep outdoors for fear of the violence and vileness inside the shelters. The truth is, homeless shelters exist more for the public than for the homeless. They ease the public's conscience and shove the problem out of sight—but few offer any lasting rehabilitation.

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In the late 1980s, two University of Notre Dame faculty members volunteered at a traditional South Bend homeless shelter. They saw the need to do more and approached the university's president, Father Ed "Monk" Malloy. They proposed the idea of creating a full-service center where homeless persons could receive under one roof all of the services necessary to meet their special needs. Notre Dame endorsed the vision wholeheartedly and, with the consent of its board of trustees, purchased and remodeled a 50,000 square foot building that it then leased to the center for $1 per year. Notre Dame also exercised its considerable influence in the region to cultivate support from the local community. Groups and individuals from the business, professional, religious, political, and social service sectors all lent a hand.

While these alliances were being formed and building renovation was underway, a fire destroyed a city hotel that was home to many of South Bend's poorest individuals. Just one week before Christmas 1988, 100 people were left homeless with winter impending. In response, the center opened its doors prematurely.

The center has since become one of the leading providers of services to homeless individuals in the United States and a focal point for hundreds of volunteers from the university and surrounding community. But getting launched, especially on this rushed schedule, was not easy. When I arrived in March 1991, I was the fifth director in two tumultuous years. At that point, the center was beset by a lack of focus and direction, serious drug use and behavioral problems, weak security, and inadequate staffing to meet the needs of its growing population. In my initial months I played a little game with the center's board of directors. I would describe an actual problem that had recently taken place in the shelter—drug-dealing, violence, stealing, whatever—and then I would ask them to guess whether the perpetrators were homeless guests or staff members. Too often, the staff mirrored the homeless in their behavioral disorders.

The center was adrift; were we really doing anything more than giving desolated people a Band-aid? The first thing we had to figure out was the specific nature of our clientele's problems so we could better meet their needs. Was the deficiency merely the absence of a paycheck? Or did it go deeper—to mental and physical illnesses? Or spiritual crises?

Though founded on good intentions, the shelter industry has done more to harm the homeless than to help them.

I realized that all of these conditions prevailed, and that providing free food, material goods, and a place to sleep was not enough. In fact, simply doing that would be counterproductive. Unconditional handouts would sustain a mere survival mentality, many bad habits and self-paralyzing vices, and allow people to put off facing their real problems. So I chose to build our program around unconditional love instead of unconditional handouts.

Many homeless advocates continue to argue that the homeless need only jobs and housing to return to productive roles in society. I only wish it were this simple, for those things are not so difficult to provide. The true needs of the homeless are much greater and more complex.

During the past year alone, our center has been refuge to a wide range of people: the NBA star I described above, a Catholic priest whose mental illness and paranoia estranged him from even the most supportive community, an 87-year-old man who had been a hobo for most of his life, a 29-year-old mother whose 12-year-old daughter gave birth to her first child at the center, and a middle-class professional divorcée whose life fell apart at the onset of diabetes.

If there is a typical client, however, her story goes something like this: A woman arrives who has survived repeated sexual abuse during her childhood years. At age 11, she became an alcoholic. She arrives at the center at age 41, never having experienced more than one month of sobriety in the past 30 years. Raped on the street on several occasions, she also has sold her body for booze and drugs and committed more than a few acts for which she cannot forgive herself. The term "rehabilitation" is a misnomer for this woman, for it implies restoring her to a condition that she has never experienced.

Personality and functional disorders stemming from drugs, alcohol, mental illness, domestic violence, illiteracy, limited job skills, poor health—you can usually find layers of these problems in a single homeless person. To go beyond mere warehousing we had to come up with a comprehensive treatment for these diverse problems. It is a formidable challenge, but not hopeless.

One of the critical ideas behind our center is that while therapy, education, and all the tools of social work and social science are necessary when working with the homeless, they are not enough. You see, the most striking common aspect among the homeless is not their poverty but their disconnectedness. The typical homeless person has severed all bonds to family and friends. There are no close affiliations because trust in humanity and in oneself has been shattered. The homeless person feels alone, hopeless, and spiritu-

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ally dead. In order to help such individuals turn their lives around, we must offer ways for them to reconnect with others and gain spiritual confidence.

What we strive for at the Center for the Homeless is to combine social science knowledge with equal measures of religious wisdom to create a healthy community atmosphere. The social science model provides individualized treatment and medical care. The religious model provides compassion and healing grace, a focus on relationships—with God and the community around us—and a "tough love" discipline that gives direction and draws boundaries. By combining these two approaches the Center for the Homeless engages both the heart and the mind.

Our initial challenge is to restore in our guests a renewed sense of dignity and self-respect. We accomplish this in many ways. First we treat everyone who enters our doors—guest, volunteer, or dignitary—with hospitality and respect. We've gone to great lengths to make our building comfortable, even aesthetically appealing. And we rely on our many rules for behavior to provide a safe haven in which the guest can feel secure.

The attitude of most homeless people is that rehabilitative services "have never helped me in the past, and aren't going to change me now." They argue that service agencies and workers "don't understand me. I am different. My problems are unique. I need food and shelter for the time being, but the personal redirection stuff is a waste of time and energy, and I don't want to be bothered."

The biggest challenge lies in helping the homeless overcome the obstacles of fear and mistrust. The homeless person must first feel secure and trust others before he can begin to explore with an open mind other avenues for living beyond mere survival. The finest facility in the land with the best self-help programs will fail miserably if it doesn't recognize the fundamental mental and spiritual challenges that must be met.

Louis M. Nanni is executive director of the Center for the Homeless, Inc., in South Bend, Indiana. The center can be reached at (219) 282–8700.

I realized that providing free food, material goods, and a place to sleep was not enough. In fact, simply doing that would be counterproductive. Unconditional handouts would sustain bad habits and allow people to put off facing their real problems.

One thing that makes managing a homeless center so difficult is that we provide two very different, and often conflicting, types of service. We need to offer emergency shelter, taking in anybody and everybody, and providing them with food and a bed that will save them from dying on the streets on brutally cold nights. At the same time, it is crucial that we do much more than just feed and water the stock—we want to treat the conditions that have created the demand for our shelter in the first place. We must try to change people: otherwise we're just subsidizing slow-motion suicides.

The problem is, once you agree to take in anybody at any time when the night is cold or hunger grows, you've virtually surrendered your right to make any demands of your guests. It's hard to convince guests you mean business by warning them to stay away from drugs and leave their neighbors in peace if they think that you can't turn them away.

We've attempted to handle these dual, frequently conflicting, responsibilities with a two-track system. When guests arrive, they are presented with a set of strict rules that must be read (or read to them) and signed. Daily orientation sessions review both the spirit and letter of the rules and direct guests toward the multiple programs that can provide assistance on-site. During his first week at the center, a guest wears a white name tag. This tells the larger community that the person is a new arrival. After this initial period, a guest is given either a blue or orange name tag by his case manager. The blue name tag indicates that the guest has created a plan, developed in collaboration with his case manager, to address his needs and work toward self-sufficiency. If a guest refuses to work toward self-sufficiency, he wears an orange card, which carries with it consequences. Orange-card residents must be out of the building after 8 A.M. and cannot return until 8 P.M. The center will continue to meet their emergency food and shelter needs for 60 days, at which time they will be suspended from services for 30 days. Any guest suspended from services for noncompliance may petition for reentry through a formal appeal process.

Using this dual-track structure and the underlying system of regulations and personal contract, we have reduced the disorder and danger that plague many homeless shelters. We emphasize security throughout our facility, especially in our entry lobby, which is staffed by off-duty police officers. In the past two years we estimate that we have gone from 75 percent emergency services (orange card status) to 75 percent of our guest population actively working with a case manager to create and follow a plan for self-sufficiency. The remaining quarter of our population maintains a transient life.

Recently, I've begun to worry that we may have reached the limit of our current regimen's effectiveness, as some guests exploit the loopholes that exist due to the rising ratio of homeless adults to staff personnel. So we're now considering tighten-

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ing our rules of order, further improving lobby security, and imposing more requirements right from the day of arrival. With continued community support we are integrating guests into structured programming within the first week. Peer monitoring and mentorship programs are key elements in improving supervision and leadership.

A disciplined program in which expectations are clear and rules are strictly enforced is essential, especially in the face of increasing demand for our services. During 1994 we will house roughly 2,500 guests in three dormitory-style rooms containing 72 beds for men and 20 beds for women, and 13 apartments for families comprising women and children. As recently as 1992, the center averaged 68 guests per night. In 1994 that figure rose to 110. According to the U.S. Conference of Mayors, roughly this same level of growth has occurred nationwide. Every year, as the numbers increase, it becomes more and more difficult to both shelter and minister with the available resources.

Our unswerving approach throughout the center is one of "tough love." In order to continue in good standing, for instance, all guests receiving income (a government benefit check or wages) must save 75 percent of it after deducting obligations like child support payments. We don't want to become an accomplice to dysfunction by providing free food and lodging that enables a guest to spend his money on drugs, alcohol, or other vices. We randomly test guests for alcohol and drug usage and also conduct target testing as warranted by individual behavior.

When a guest skips a night or tests positive, he or she is expelled from the center for anywhere from 4 to 14 days. In order to return, the guest must appear before our grievance and policy board (an eight-member staff group that meets weekly). Time away from the center provides a valuable opportunity for guest and center to reassess each other. Suspended guests who want to return must explain to the grievance and policy board, under questioning, how things will be different next time. The board then votes on readmittance and sets the conditions under which it can take place. If and when the guest returns, his personal contract is adjusted. Decisions to eject or deny reentry to guests are difficult and often painful, but we have discovered through countless experiences that they are necessary to help homeless persons confront the deeper problems that block their return to society.

We mustn't be bashful about offering direction and imposing responsibilities upon homeless people, for direction is what they need and responsibility is what they deserve.

Eighteen different community agencies offer on-site services at our center; these range from a medical clinic to mental health care, drug and alcohol treatment, chapel services, adult literacy classes, a Montessori preschool, and much more. But these opportunities come with expectations. We demand individual responsibility as an outgrowth of love and hope, and accordingly do not coddle the family member who goes astray. Shelters that allow residents to live parasitically off their services without making appropriate personal demands often prevent the homeless from ever taking responsibility for themselves. Our goal for each guest is to gain self-sufficiency—which we define as having the self-knowledge, discipline, and skills necessary to secure one's own shelter, maintain a healthy livelihood, and establish the relationships necessary to flourish personally and in a community.

We've learned, though, that we can't simply legislate self-sufficiency through a comprehensive set of rules that are strictly enforced. As a guest once told me, "One thing I know how to do is survive. You can come up with whatever rules you want, but if I don't buy into it, I can slip and slither through and around them with ease. I'm like grabbing hold of a greased pole." He was right. So every Monday night the entire community of center guests comes together to sing, share stories, listen to inspirational presentations, and mourn together as tragedy befalls us. In this and many other mundane and extracurricular events, love and community are fostered at the center, and this is an essential complement to our standard regimen. One former guest wrote in a letter to our staff, "At a time when my previously overblown ego had utterly imploded, everyone at the center treated me with a sense of human dignity that was every bit as vital as food and shelter."

Critical to the center's success is our network of volunteers. This begins right at the top of our organization. The Center for the Homeless is a voluntary partnership of three private civic organizations—the University of Notre Dame, the United Religious Community, and the Junior League—along with the city of South Bend. Representatives from each of our sustaining organizations sit on the center's board of directors.

In daily operations, volunteers bring us invaluable expertise, energy, and creativity that we could never buy or hire. Our volunteers—averaging some 300 per month—serve meals, tutor school children, computerize our management and information system, and in all, serve in some 30 different capacities at the center. In addition to the tangible services they provide, volunteers transmit concern and inspiration. Sometimes just being there is more im-

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portant than all the social service techniques in the world.

The presence of people who seem to care is the most powerful aid to healing for most of our guests. Volunteers form friendships with guests through shared work and in simple conversation, and this is therapeutic. One former guest, now gainfully employed after a six-month stay in the center with her husband and son, reports that "volunteers really made a difference. They encouraged me to try again and not give up; you cannot put a value on what they do."

The Notre Dame community has used the center as a place to practice the service-learning ethic that the university emphasizes. Architectural students have redesigned dorm space as part of a class project. MBA students helped produce both our strategic plan and our fundraising strategy. Sociology students have interviewed guests and reviewed our data to help us assess the needs of our population and the effectiveness of our programs.

What are some of the lessons we have learned from our experience at the Center for the Homeless? One is the importance of two-sided contracts between the caring and the cared-for. We mustn't be bashful about offering direction and imposing responsibilities upon homeless people, for direction is what they need, and responsibility is what they deserve. It dishonors human dignity and God-given potential to treat the needy as unaccountable. The way to show compassion and respect for homeless people is to expect them to act competently and to answer for their behavior, as all other citizens must. Assisted in this way, the homeless will be able to give as well as to receive, to teach as well as to learn.

We've also learned the value of direct personal contact. There is no substitute for the nurturing intimacy of one-to-one relations. They produce honest progress in a way no bureaucracy or impersonal form of assistance can match.

Another discovery we have made is that money alone does not begin to cure today's most troubling forms of poverty. The deep neediness of the homeless usually springs from some personality damage, deep demoralization, or consistently bad lifestyle choices. It isn't a check in the mail or a job or free living quarters that will lift a person suffering from such problems to a healthier life—by itself, such aid can actually feed the crippling condition. Rehabilitation must be built on personal transformation, which in turn requires a renewal of human connectedness and spiritual confidence. In this regard, the example that impresses me most deeply is that of Alcoholics Anonymous, where peers rather than remote professionals provide the leadership, and where personal honesty is emphasized and accountability is demanded. The Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions of Alcoholics Anonymous may be the most important model for social aid and rehabilitation to come out of America this century.

Money alone does not begin to cure today's most troubling forms of poverty. Rehabilitation must be built on personal transformation, which in turn requires a renewal of human connectedness and spiritual confidence.

Related to all this, our experience at the center has made us aware of the inadequacy of government as a solver of social dysfunction. Governments cannot provide the spiritual and assertive solutions that today's social problems increasingly require. But private, community-based groups like ours *can* require drug tests, set living rules, and demand behavioral changes. Even more importantly, we can offer real support and concern, and help people discover the sources of permanent meaning in life. Government social programs are fatally hindered by numerous flaws: an exaggerated emphasis on "entitlements" and "rights," a one-size-fits-all cookie-cutter mentality, a deadening secularization that freezes out religious wisdom and motivation, and a hopelessly gargantuan scale that prevents human trust and connectedness from ever growing up between aid-giver and aid recipient.

Work like ours at the center takes substantial amounts of money. But it doesn't require a government agency. These days, I am increasingly convinced that government ought to abandon the role of providing human services altogether and instead make pools of money available to private groups, charitable organizations, churches, universities, business groups, and other community entities to help them run the shelters, addiction treatment centers, maternity homes, job training programs, centers for battered persons, and other facilities we need. Instead of writing checks to millions of disconnected individuals, perhaps our government should provide transportable human service vouchers to the needy that could be taken to the local organization of their choice to have their needs addressed on a case-by-case basis—with personal familiarity and concern for their particular circumstances, their character, and their specific problems. In such a world, there might be a lot more Centers for the Homeless.

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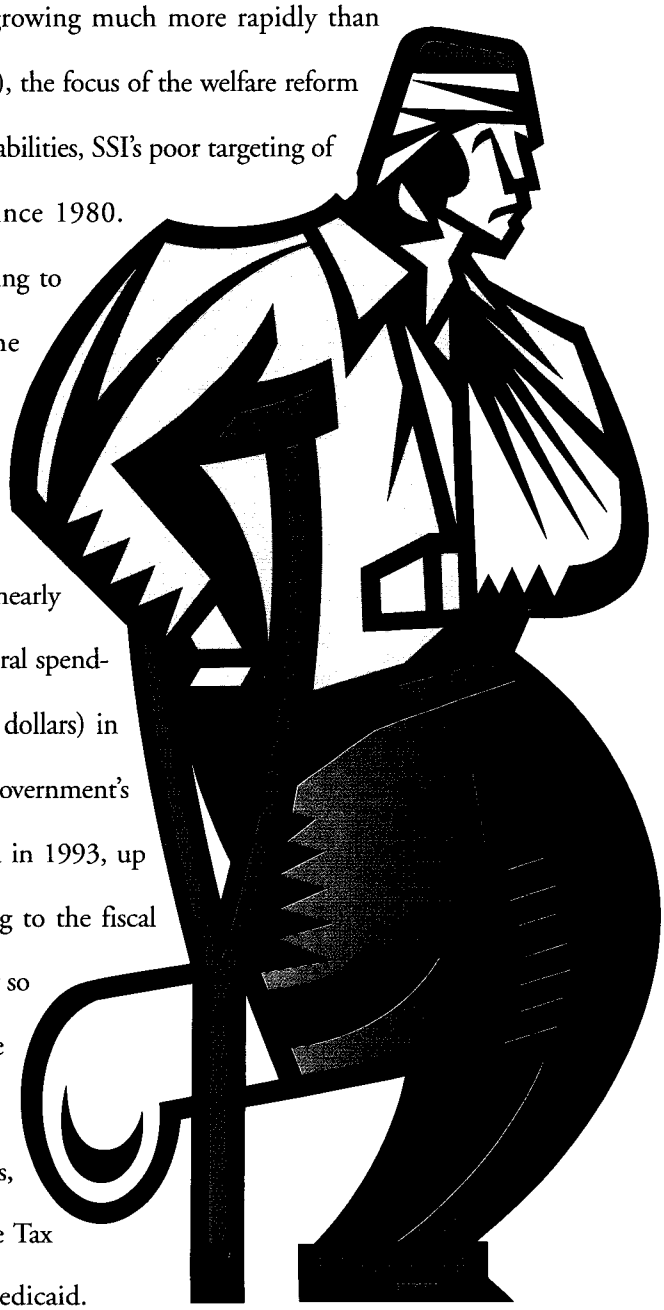
Welfare Payments to the Disabled

Making America Sick?

Carolyn L. Weaver

President Clinton claims his welfare reform plan will "end welfare as we know it." Yet his plan fails to tackle the federal government's largest and fastest-growing cash welfare program, Supplemental Security Income (SSI)—now more costly and growing much more rapidly than AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children), the focus of the welfare reform debate. Established to serve the elderly and people with disabilities, SSI's poor targeting of benefits has caused the program to double in cost since 1980. Ironically, at the same time the federal government is trying to expand work opportunities for the disabled under the Americans with Disabilities Act, SSI is encouraging growing numbers of disabled Americans to live a life of dependency on government.



In 1993, an estimated 6 million people received Supplemental Security Income, up nearly one-half since 1980 and one-quarter just since 1990. Federal spending on SSI stood at $23 billion, double its level (in real dollars) in 1980. By contrast, federal spending on AFDC, the government's best-known welfare program, totaled $16 billion in 1993, up 23 percent in real terms since 1980. According to the fiscal year 1995 Clinton budget, SSI benefits will grow so rapidly in the next few years that, by the end of the decade, the cost of the program (including federal and state spending) will exceed the cost of AFDC, food stamps, subsidized housing, the greatly expanded Earned Income Tax Credit, and every other major welfare program except Medicaid.

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Fueling Growth in Medicaid and Food Stamps, Too

SSI's expansion spells increased pressure on both Medicaid, the nation's giant health care program for the poor, and food stamps, since SSI recipients qualify for both of these programs. In the case of Medicaid, the cost of health care for the aged and disabled poor is much higher than average. According to the House Ways and Means Committee, in 1992, Medicaid spending averaged $2,936 per person—but was $7,700 for the elderly and $7,612 for people with disabilities, compared with $1,752 for AFDC adults and $959 for AFDC children. The bulk (approximately 70 percent) of Medicaid spending is for the aged and disabled, not AFDC mothers and children as often assumed.

Traditionally, SSI has enjoyed unusual support on Capitol Hill and remarkable protection at budget time. In contrast to AFDC, SSI provides a guaranteed minimum income ($5,496 annually for individuals and $8,244 for couples) that is increased annually with the cost of living and is financed almost entirely by the federal government. Most serious discussion of SSI reform—or Social Security reform for that matter—has brought forth proposals for expanding eligibility and increasing payment levels. The recommendations of a 1992 study panel on SSI, convened by the commissioner of Social Security, had a five-year price tag of $100 billion!

Significantly, in the push to reform welfare on Capitol Hill, a bill was enacted in September containing provisions, crafted by Republicans, that will curtail benefits for at least a segment of the SSI population—those on SSI-disability because of drug addiction or alcoholism. However, the bill drew the line on reform there.

SSI's seeming immunity from reform stems partially from an outdated view that the program primarily functions as a safety net for the elderly poor. While once true, SSI has been transformed over the years into a program serving mainly working-age adults (and increasingly children) with disabilities.

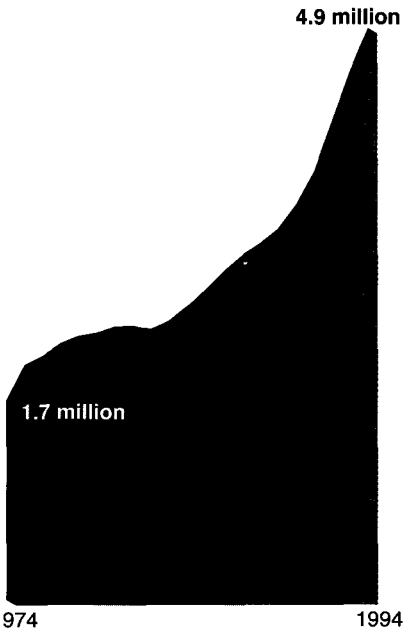
Carolyn L. Weaver is the director of Social Security and Pension Studies at AEI and the author of Disability and Work.

As Elderly Recipients Decline, Disabled Recipients Soar

When SSI was created in 1974—federalizing old-age assistance, aid to the disabled, and aid to the blind programs around the country—most SSI recipients *were* elderly people, generally those who were not eligible for Social Security or whose pensions left them in poverty. Over the years, as the incomes of the elderly have risen, the number of elderly people receiving SSI has fallen. (Elderly immigrants, who now make up 28 percent of the elderly rolls—up from 5 percent in 1982—are an exception, and the growth in their relative numbers prompted legislation in 1993 to tighten family support requirements.) At the same time—for reasons that are not entirely clear—the number of disabled recipients has soared, doubling between 1974 and 1990 and increasing by over 1 million in the past three years alone (see Figure 1).

What do we know about SSI-disability recipients? The typical recipient is in his or her thirties or forties, has a high school education or less, and was granted benefits on the basis of a mental disorder, such as schizophrenia, depression, or anxiety. As Figure 2 shows, fully 57 percent of adults on SSI-disability have a mental disorder. Young people with mental disorders are the fastest growing segment of the adult SSI population. The prospects that these people will ever return to work (or go to work) are very poor.

Figure 1: **Recipients of Welfare Payments for Disability**



Note: Supplemental Security Income recipients. 1994 figure is an estimate.
Source: House Ways and Means Committee, Social Security Administration.

Thanks to a 1990 court order and new regulations that loosened eligibility for children, children with disabilities are the fastest growing segment of the SSI population today. Stretching SSI in ways never contemplated in 1974, 225,000 children with disabilities (mainly mental disorders, including the much-discussed attention deficit disorder, and mental retardation) were added to the rolls in 1993, triple the number in 1989. As Figure 3 shows, the number of children on the rolls now approaches 1 million, or close to one out of five people on the SSI-disability rolls.

How to Get High on the Government

Tens of thousands of alcoholics and drug addicts have also found their way onto the SSI rolls, and their ranks are growing rapidly. According to the Social Security Administration, the number of people on the rolls with substance abuse as their primary disorder (in other words, without some other qualifying disability, such as cancer or heart disease) nearly quadrupled in the three-and-a-half-year period October 1990 to April 1994, rising from 23,000 to 86,000. The General Accounting Office reports that between the two disability programs administered by the Social Security Administration—SSI-disability and Disability Insurance (which, like the Social Security retirement program, pays benefits to covered workers based on their average earnings while working, not based on financial need)—250,000 drug addicts and alcoholics are receiving monthly benefits at an annual cost of $1.4 billion, with over half of these addicts added to the rolls in the past five years.

The new legislation attempts to deal with this problem by placing limitations on the payment of benefits to substance abusers. Under the law, SSI payments to people disabled by reason of drug abuse or alcoholism will be suspended during periods of failure to comply with a treat-

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ment program. In addition, benefits will cease after 36 months (excluding any periods during which payments are suspended for failure to comply with treatment). Social Security Administration employees will be required to refer SSI recipients to treatment programs and determine whether they stay in them.

Bureaucratic Nightmares

These new requirements will almost certainly lead to a bureaucratic nightmare for the Social Security Administration, since the agency will have to identify, notify, track, and monitor all SSI recipients with a substance-abuse disorder, evaluate the suitability of treatment facilities and make referrals, periodically test SSI recipients for substance abuse, and ultimately suspend or stop benefit payments—actions that will no doubt be endlessly appealed in court.

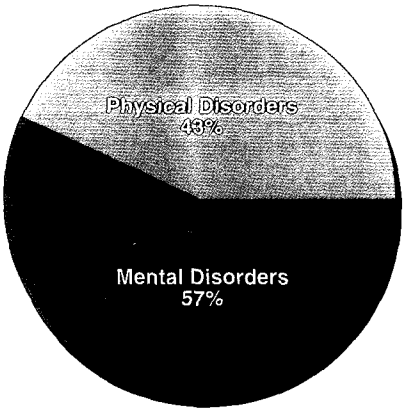
Moreover, the effect of these requirements on rehabilitation, benefit terminations, and budget savings will almost certainly be limited. The Social Security Administration is not authorized or funded to provide drug or alcohol treatment, and it cannot require people to pay for it themselves. The most the Social Security Administration can do is make referrals to "appropriate" treatment programs (an interesting choice of words, since social scientists report that there is no hard evidence about what drug abuse treatment programs "work"). Benefits cannot be suspended, moreover, unless treatment is actually available to the individual. (Under the disability insurance program, benefits cannot be stopped after 36 months either, unless treatment is available *in each of those months,* which means that some substance abusers will continue receiving SSI checks for an unknown period of time.) Even if benefits finally cease, substance abusers will remain eligible for Medicaid.

Meanwhile, SSI recipients whose substance abuse contributes to another qualifying disability (such as severe organ damage or mental illness) will not have their benefits cut no matter how long this substance abuse continues or how little effort they make to end it. And there is no prohibition against new people coming on the rolls as a result of substance abuse.

The Clinton administration quickly embraced the SSI restrictions on drug addicts and alcoholics as a means to help finance its welfare reform plan, not as the first step toward reforming SSI. This is unfortunate not only because of the problems just noted but also because of the missed opportunities to improve the basic program for the great majority of people with disabilities who are not substance abusers. Encouraging and enabling people to overcome their disabilities to work and targeting assistance on those who can actually benefit from it should be essential ingredients of SSI reform.

AT THE SAME TIME THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO EXPAND WORK OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE DISABLED UNDER THE AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT, SSI IS ENCOURAGING GROWING NUMBERS OF DISABLED AMERICANS TO LIVE A LIFE OF DEPENDENCY ON GOVERNMENT.

Figure 2: **Nature of Disorder for Disability Welfare Recipients**



Note: Adult Supplemental Security Income recipients, as of December 1993.
Source: Social Security Administration.

At the point of entry to the program, SSI creates strong disincentives to work, disincentives that are no less potent than in AFDC. Once on the benefit rolls, SSI recipients receive cash assistance, but no rehabilitation, job training, or employment services—services that are no less necessary to enable people with disabilities to find work than they are for single parents receiving AFDC. And in providing cash support with few strings attached, SSI tends to perpetuate the very conditions that preclude work and promote dependency.

Further, SSI poses problems of eligibility that dwarf those in AFDC. Whether in assessing an adult's ability to engage in "substantial gainful activity" or a child's ability to engage in "age-appropriate activities of daily living," the government's decisions about who is disabled and to what extent are costly, complex, inherently subjective, and frequently disputed. This raises many questions about the design of SSI, not the least of which is whether it should even cover disabled children eligible for AFDC and Medicaid—which, in turn, raises a question as to how much more the families of these children should receive for basic support than the families of other poor children.

The Tangled Web of SSI and AFDC

SSI payments are unrelated to the cash needs of children, let alone disabled children. Set to ensure that (together with food stamps) an elderly person or a disabled adult has a near-poverty level of income, SSI payments are much higher than AFDC payments, which leads to large disparities in cash assistance for poor families depending on whether their children qualify as disabled. In a typical state, a poor mother with one of her children on AFDC and the other on SSI receives twice as much public assistance as a poor mother with two children on AFDC. Were the latter mother able to have one of her children certified as disabled and qualified for SSI, she would, based on 1994 benefit amounts, forgo $72 monthly in AFDC in exchange for $446 monthly in SSI, raising her family's income from $366 to $740 monthly; were the other child to qualify for SSI as well, family income would rise to $1,104 monthly, fully triple that of the AFDC family. In contrast to AFDC, SSI awards each additional child the same full

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benefit, with no reduction in marginal benefits, and there is no limit to family benefits. (Medicaid is available to children under either program.) The states administering these programs are hardly indifferent to this shift in support, since they must bear about 45 percent of the cost of AFDC but none of the cost of SSI (state supplements to SSI are optional; only some states provide them).

While nearly everyone agrees that poor children with disabilities need assistance, the proper roles of SSI and AFDC have not been sorted out in terms of the needs of the children or their families. The linkages between the two programs have also been largely ignored. In the welfare reform debate, for example, will much reform really take place if AFDC is tightened while SSI remains unchanged? It's possible that liberal opposition to welfare reform has been muted by the fact that an unreformed SSI program will continue to subsidize families who might become ineligible for AFDC. These subsidies will be expensive and poorly targeted.

And who's asking how much aid should be provided to disabled children, or what mixture of cash and services is most appropriate? These questions have never been addressed in large part because SSI benefits for children were an afterthought at the time the original SSI legislation was enacted.

An Expensive Afterthought

As the massive Social Security and Medicare bill that contained the proposal for SSI moved through Congress in 1972, there was no mention of children's benefits. Disability was defined in terms of inability to work, and SSI payments were intended to replace lost income. The idea of payments for children (who did not work and had no earnings, but nevertheless had disabilities somehow construed to be of "comparable severity") apparently was conceived by a senior welfare official in the Nixon administration, who (although the record is not clear on this point) managed to get a 26-word amendment inserted into the final bill without objection or debate.

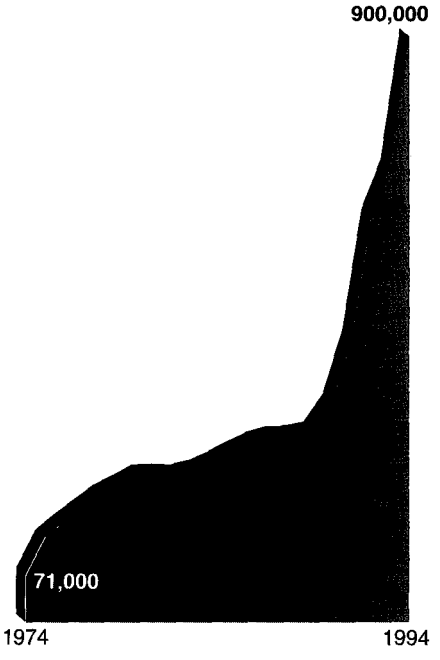
Until 1990, the number of disabled children receiving benefits never exceeded 300,000. But in 1990, the Supreme Court in *Sullivan v. Zebley* ordered the Social Security Administration to relax the criterion used for assessing disability in children and to review the cases of hundreds of thousands of children denied benefits since 1981. To implement this decision, the Social Security Administration issued regulations creating a new test of eligibility based on a child's ability to behave in an "age-appropriate manner," a test that must be used when a child would not be eligible for benefits based simply on the medical severity of his or her impairments. This new standard was intended to make disability benefits available to children on terms more comparable with adults, who, if found "not disabled" based on the severity of their impairments, have vocational factors (age, education, and work experience) considered in combination with their "functional capacity" to perform work-related activities. These new regulations were issued at just about the same time as new regulations revising the assessment of mental disorders in children, which, among other things, expanded the group of qualifying disorders to include attention deficit disorder and elevated the importance (relative to medical evidence by physicians) of testimonials by friends, teachers, and family members on individuals' disabilities. The predictable results of these changes have been a surge in the number of children on SSI and a serious questioning of whether this program of cash assistance to children with disabilities should even exist.

For adults, the Social Security disability programs are premised on an outdated assumption that people with disabilities cannot, and very likely never will be able to, work. The "once disabled always disabled" assumption of the 1950s and 1960s remains deeply embedded in current policy, despite dramatic improvements in science and medicine, in technology and information, and in the educational opportunities of young people with disabilities. These advances have improved the quality of life of people with disabilities—who are also now protected from job discrimination by the strict mandates of the Americans with Disabilities Act—and have created new opportunities for work. Yet the number of people on the Social Security disability rolls has never been higher. In 1993, some 9 million people (including family members) received checks from the Social Security Administration totaling $59 billion. Most disability recipients are prime-age men and women who will never leave the benefit rolls.

In a 1992 Syracuse University study, Leo Aarts, Richard V. Burkhauser, and Philip de Jong carefully reviewed disability policies in the United States, Sweden (where 14 percent of workers were "disabled" in 1989), the Netherlands, and Germany. They concluded that "the root cause of the increasing incidence of disability over the past two decades has more to do with policy medicine" administered to "health-impaired workers than with any change in the underlying health of citizens."

If the nation is agreed that neither disabilities nor welfare benefits should prevent citizens from working, then ending "welfare as we know it" must include an overhaul of the federal disability programs.

Figure 3: **Children Receiving Welfare Payments for Disability**



Note: Supplemental Security Income recipients under age 18. 1994 figure is an estimate.
Source: Social Security Administration.

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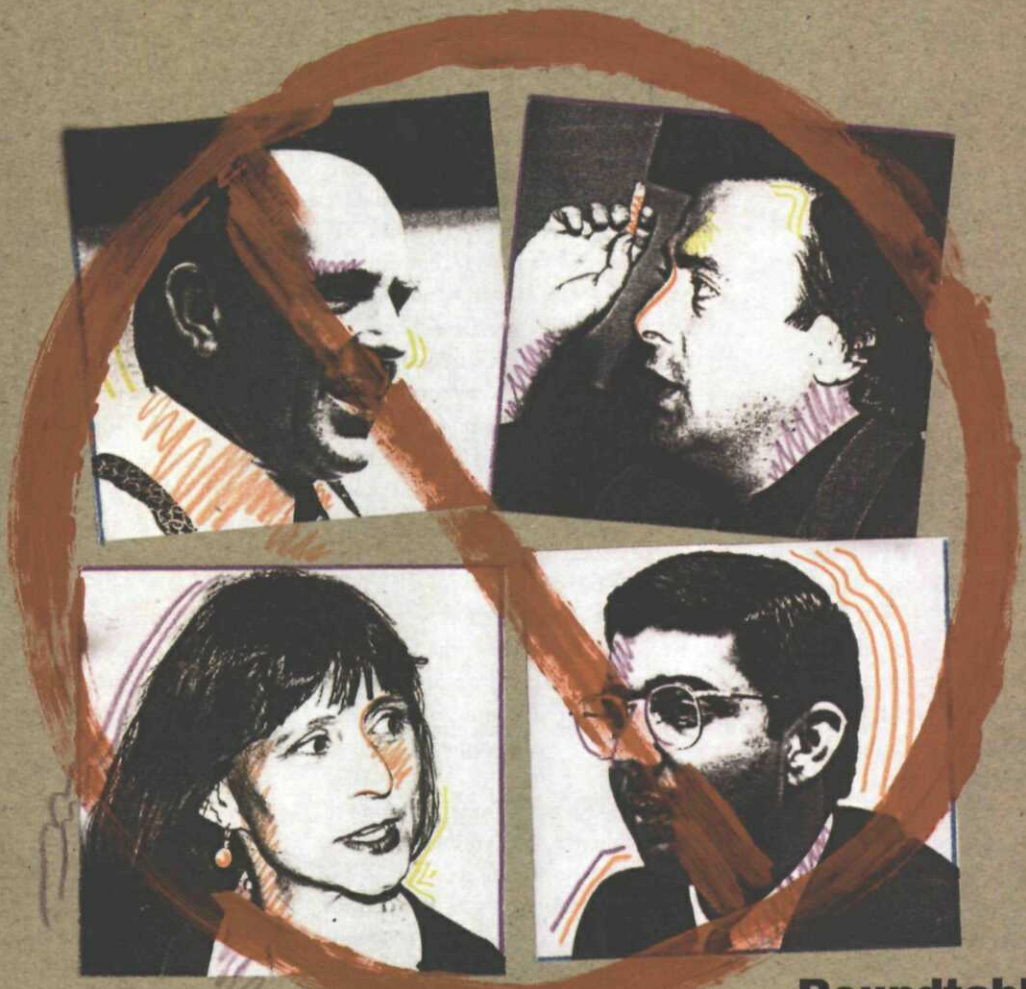

A Roundtable on Taboo Research

Forbidden Thoughts

The American Enterprise recently invited four iconoclastic thinkers to discuss the barriers that exist against certain kinds of intellectual inquiry. As academic lepers, they are a blue-ribbon group. Infamous among college faculty as the author of *Illiberal Education,* American Enterprise Institute Olin Fellow Dinesh D'Souza steered the discussion. Joining him were Christina Hoff Sommers, nemesis of many feminists for her recent book *Who Stole Feminism?;* Charles Murray, Bradley Fellow at AEI and the *New York Times'* nominee for "Most Dangerous Conservative"; and *The Nation* columnist Christopher Hitchens, a pro-life, pro-gun socialist.

Original photography by Dave Scavone

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Mr. D'Souza: Could each of you comment on which aspect of your work you regard as the most controversial, and why you think this particular aspect upsets people?

Ms. Sommers: I think the most controversial aspect of my work is my report that feminist victimology statistics are completely untrustworthy. I thought once I pointed out errors replicated over and over again—a supposed 150,000 girls dying every year of anorexia, for instance, whereas the correct figure is closer to 100—the gender feminists would admit they blew it. I pointed out fatal mistakes in rape research, battery research, self-esteem research.

I've since come to learn that alarming statistics on victimization are the catechisms of orthodox feminism. My exposé directly threatened doctrinal verities. Now those I criticized are desperately trying to salvage what they can from my critique. Naomi Wolf and Gloria Steinem are running around trying to find experts who will give them a high anorexia death toll. No one has come forth. It's rather ghoulish: You'd think they'd be relieved that women are not dying at the rate they said.

In my book I pointed out several serious errors in the widely touted self-esteem study conducted by the American Association of University Women. Instead of admitting their mistakes, they have set up an 800 number members can call to hear refutations of Christina Sommers. They have also joined up with a fringe group inappropriately called Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting to launch a coordinated attack on everything I've written or said.

Mr. Murray: The easy answer for me right now is that I've upset people with my research on race and I.Q. and genetics. But as Christina was answering I was thinking that what really upsets people is probably something other than what you're specifically saying. There's almost always some deeper sensitivity that you're goading. If it were only the number of people dying from anorexia, then people wouldn't get so excited about it if the number were wrong.

In the case of my book on welfare, *Losing Ground,* I think what really irritated an awful lot of people was that I seemed to care about the poor and I was on the political Right. The Left, at that time, had something of a monopoly of concern for poor people, which I think the Right acceded to. If you really cared and were compassionate, you favored liberal outlooks. If you were conservative, you wore a green eyeshade and worried about spending too much money, worried about welfare cheats. I think it really got people irritated that *Losing Ground* seemed to be by somebody who also cared about the poor, yet had completely different ideas from theirs.

Ms. Sommers: That's a good point. It is pretty clear that the feminist establishment resents me more than they do Jessie Helms. The fact that I call myself a feminist, that I clearly care about women, yet disagree with them, drives them up the wall. They are especially outraged when I point out that they do not share the values of most American women, but, in fact, patronize them.

Still, I have a hard time explaining the ferocity of the reaction. Yesterday, both Nadine Strossen, president of the ACLU, and I gave speeches to a group called the Women's Freedom Network, a new monopoly of the National Organization for Woman. Strossen, who has spoken before hundreds of groups, some of them quite radical, right and left, told the participants she had never been lobbied as aggressively to avoid a conference as she had this one, simply because Christina Sommers would be there.

Connie Chung's "Eye to Eye" program recently did a special about my research. Bernard Goldberg, the correspondent who interviewed me, invited Gloria Steinem, Susan Faludi, and others to appear in the segment, but they refused.

At the last minute the feminist establishment coordinated a massive protest. Faxes and phone calls came pouring in. Steinem herself called Connie Chung, warning her I was a dangerous woman who should not be granted a forum. Bernard Goldberg, a veteran of many controversial interviews, told me that he had never witnessed anything like it.

Mr. D'Souza: You seem to be suggesting that it's not just a kind of guild mentality or resistance to new ideas, but a feeling that some sacred ground is being trespassed upon, some idea of virtue being violated.

Christopher, are there particular left-wing taboos at work here, and where do you fit in?

Mr. Hitchens: As a socialist writer, I will claim George Orwell as my model. In about 1946, Orwell wrote a very interesting article in the socialist newspaper *Tribune* that is relevant here. The *Tribune*'s Vienna correspondent had filed a report about the behavior of the Red Army in Vienna, pointing out how careless of civilian well-being they had been.

Reviewing the critical letters that the magazine got as a result, Orwell noted that many contained the very distressing suggestion that even if what the correspondent was saying was true, he ought not to have said it.

A very powerful disciplining force among intellectuals—who already are a fairly conformist social formation, the herd of independent minds as Rosenberg described them—is fear of giving "ammunition to the enemy."

There are two distinct ways in which this can enforce itself, and Orwell sounded the alarm against both. The first is a reluctance to deviate from the consensus of the wider society, from what everyone assumes to be true, or from what, for social purposes, is thought to be necessary or desirable to be widely believed. The second is a fear of one's own cohort. Many people who are prepared to be quite brave in defying an aroused public opinion, who in fact consider it almost their job to flout conventional views, will exhibit none of this intellectual courage when it comes to anything that seems to be within the family. I propose we begin with that distinction.

For example, in my own case, it cost me nothing at all to oppose President Reagan's campaigns in El Salvador and Nicaragua. Being criticized for giving aid and comfort to the communists I regarded as a palatable, before-breakfast kind of insult. I would not have felt I was doing my job if I wasn't getting something like that.

Less pleasant, I found, but equally predictable and thus bearable were the taunts alleging I was motivated by prejudice against the Jewish people when I defended the rights of the Palestinian people in the 1970s and 1980s. If ever this happens to you, you will know that it is not

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We have a system of quality control in scholarship. It is called criticism. This has broken down in the area of feminist research, and probably other areas as well, where people are not correcting the faulty research for fear of political ramifications.
—Christina Hoff Sommers

nice. Yet this too was a rather predictable and panicky argument.

More difficult for me has been the fact that I regard the unborn child as an entity with human rights. This has put me in tension with the liberal wing on so-called women's issues. Likewise, I'm opposed to gun control, and have written as much.

There is a paradox, however. You can manipulate the taboos of society and of your group against each other to your advantage. For instance, nothing is now more acceptable to society than a black professor who says black people must take responsibility for their plight and stop blaming the wider society. Having a fight with your cohorts may greatly increase your marketability.

Mr. D'Souza: Are we talking about anything different from the shifting winds of what may be called political correctness? In the 1950s, it might have taken courage to articulate Marxist views. Today, rebellion is defined in a different way.

Are we just talking about what point of view happens to be prevalent in the intellectual community, or is there a line?

Mr. Murray: There is an asymmetry on the Left and Right. What could I say that would get me into trouble with people on the Right in the way that Christopher gets in trouble with people on the Left? Defense of homosexual rights, I would imagine, would infuriate some elements of the Right. But in addition to being a "right-wing ideologue," I also consider myself a social scientist. And while when I speak out on welfare and illegitimacy I have huge majorities of average Americans saying, "of course the guy is right," I also have long rosters of social scientists at universities saying I'm a scoundrel.

Part of the difficulty for me comes from this professional intellectual world, whose respect most of us would like to have, but which is unrelievedly left in political complexion.

It seems to me we can't come up with an equal number of examples of how the Right jumps on independent thinkers today as the Left does, because the individuals and groups who set the rules and intellectual limits these days are overwhelmingly of the Left.

Mr. D'Souza: Is one of today's deepest taboos the idea of moral responsibility and moral accountability? That seems to raise the issue of blaming the victim.

It now seems dangerous to suggest that it is not society but more often individuals who must shoulder the burden for their own problems.

Is that a taboo that we're offending against?

Ms. Sommers: Yes. My work has challenged the notion that women are an oppressed class. The gender feminists cannot tolerate any questioning of that crucial loyal-to-the-sisterhood principle. A more individualist grass roots feminism severely threatens them.

Mr. Murray: I have often been told that I am a nice guy, and that my own views seem well researched and morally decent and all that, but that I'm providing ammunition to people who are going to use it for racist, antipoor purposes. In fact, I've worried about that. I'm worried about it with my present book on genetics and intelligence.

In practice, however, I have very seldom found this to occur. Every once in a while, if I'm on a radio talk show or something, I will get some caller who is nasty and racist. Much more often, though, in my work on welfare, somebody has come up to me, identified himself as a conservative, and thanked me for arguing something he had never been able to articulate, namely, that he wasn't all that concerned about welfare cheats. What really worried him about welfare was what it is doing to human lives. That "use" of my research was much more common than the opposite.

Your obligation, if you are going to write on these difficult topics, is to spend a lot of time on your prose. I mean, don't go for a provocative phrase, even though it is a really striking one, if it is a phrase that lends itself to being lifted out of context. Say absolutely clearly what you do mean. A lot of times, you must go to great lengths to say, "Here is what I do *not* mean."

But once you have done that well, forget about trying to anticipate who is going to pick up your stuff and for what purposes. Just put it out there and let it stand by itself.

Mr. D'Souza: Many of the accusations that are launched to enforce taboos are things like invocations of slavery, or of patriarchy, or the Inquisition, or the Holocaust. This raises the question of whether historical events have become political weapons, truncheons with which to enforce orthodoxy. If that is so, is there some sort of dour pleasure to be taken in undermining the currency that these powerful words enjoy?

For example, it is certainly true that, in the 1950s, the word *communist,* used often enough, began to lose its sting and, in fact, became almost a boomerang word in which the accuser himself was embarrassed by having to make the charge. Will it be a good thing or a bad thing if this happens to the word *racist*? The word *racist* as a loose charge currently has the power to get innocent people humiliated or fired. At the same time, we know there are real racists out there. So, on the one hand, one wants to protect the real meaning of the word, if we can put it that way, and on the other hand, one wants to prevent its promiscuous misuse.

Ms. Sommers: There has been a trivialization of moral language. Naomi Wolf compared the anorexia "epidemic" to the Holocaust in her book, and of course no one wants to be insensitive to a holocaust. But it is she who is debasing the meaning of the term.

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I've occasionally felt pleasure at knowing I'm going to irritate certain people with my statements. But it seems to me this is a very seductive and dangerous motive for making an argument.
—Dinesh D'Souza

Mr. D'Souza: There is also an opposite temptation. I've occasionally felt pleasure at knowing I'm going to irritate certain people with my statements. But it seems to me this is a very seductive and dangerous motive for making an argument.

Mr. Hitchens: Well, there is the terrible word *unpredictable*, which has become a kind of badge of honor in parts of the journalistic community. The *New Republic*, for example, made a cheap reputation by being unpredictable, and it became incoherent and offensive as a result. I feel that anyone who knows my writing ought to be able to make a rough guess as to what I would say about any given thing. If my knee didn't jerk, I once wrote, I would fear I had suffered a loss of nerve.

On your point about racism, which I think is very important, I would add that the Holocaust is overused as an analogy to the point of diminishing returns. I remember once expressing myself in strong terms about some group of people; in response, somebody with every evidence on his face of thinking he had discovered a completely quenching reply said, "suppose you took the word *x* out of your sentence and replaced it with the word *Jew*?" I said, "I'll tell you what would happen if you did that: you would have changed the subject completely."

Mr. D'Souza: Within the university it is fairly easy to enforce codes of conformity. But then there are marginal figures in society. I think of Khallid Muhammad as an example of someone who seems to be engaging in a kind of war of taboos, so to speak, by raising the issue of whether the Holocaust or slavery was a greater crime, and by attacking Jews for complicity in the slave trade as a way of undermining Jewish moral authority. This is clearly a dangerous game to play, and Muhammad seems to have been immediately shunted to one side.

The question is, should someone like that be taken seriously? Should we be investigating Jewish complicity in the slave trade, or is that the kind of issue that is not important?

Ms. Sommers: Reputable historians have investigated Jewish participation in the slave trade and found it to be altogether negligible. The problem with Muhammad is that he has no evidence. We don't want to argue that simply because someone has shocking revelations and new interpretations, he is to be taken seriously. Unconventional opinion must be founded in good scholarship and a respect for truth.

Mr. Murray: What is the difference between demagoguery and what we do, since there obviously is a difference? Part of it is evidence and preparation. But that raises a question. Is it responsible, for example, for me to talk about race and I.Q. on a radio broadcast, even if I am doing it on a carefully reasoned basis? If you are going to deal with some of these questions, is there an obligation, in effect, to use print as your medium? It is only in print that you can make sure the whole thing is laid out in a way that is responsible.

My own inclination is to say that if you want to make Khallid Muhammad's case, that's fine. But make it in print first and make it in detail.

Mr. Hitchens: That is a very honorable position in the present culture, where ideas are completely relegated to the stacks if they don't have electronic capabilities. I don't know if I will bind myself to the same scrupulous standard.

I went to the Khallid Muhammad meeting at Howard University a few months ago, feeling rather conspicuous. I discovered that he is basically a very vulgar stand-up comedian who enjoys getting a certain kind of laugh. He is also a racial and religious bigot of a very common or garden variety. But I think I've probably never been to a less threatening meeting.

The atmosphere of menace generated around his remarks about how the Pope dresses and so forth comes from reading them in print. In person, he is not so much hateful as funny. His timing is extremely good. He has a sort of Richard Pryor timing.

This raises another question: If you don't think religion is a civilizing force morally or ethically, as I do not, if you think that religion is pernicious, you have almost no chance at all of being taken seriously in the United States.

Mr. D'Souza: I'm not sure about that. I would agree that openly antireligious rhetoric is considered unacceptable. But religion is regularly trivialized if not directly attacked.

Mr. Murray: Intellectuals in the United States are overwhelmingly secular. The ruling attitude, as far as I can see, is that no real intellectual could possibly take religion seriously. There is not a lot of animus. The attitude toward religion is more dismissive than anything else.

Mr. D'Souza: Let's look at the analogy of offending a religious dogma. In our society, is the democratic idea of equality the dogma that's most dangerous to violate? It seems that the research of Christina and Charles provides some basis for the idea that a certain amount of inequality among various men and women may be natural. This is very threatening to some.

Could this be a root of several important intellectual taboos?

Ms. Sommers: Yes, victimology has replaced religion for many. To assert that American women are fortunate rather than victimized is anathema. It violates feminist holy writ.

Mr. Hitchens: All that those of us from the 1960s seem to have left today's undergraduates is the inheritance of safe sex and political correctness—a strange combination of prurience and puritanism.

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Ms. Sommers: The hypersensitivity to victims has even penetrated the courts. You can be guilty of the most heinous crimes, but if your lawyer can depict you as a victim, it elicits sympathy and you will be found innocent.

Elementary justice is trumped by sympathy for victims—not the victims of crimes, but the "victim" criminal.

Mr. D'Souza: Everywhere else in American intellectual life, "nonjudgmental" relativism has taken over. But if you deny mass victimhood, not only are you wrong, you are immoral. You need not just persuasion, but therapy.

Mr. Hitchens: It is a very sentimental culture, but as far as absolutes are concerned, it is extremely fluid. I'll give you an example. A wing of the feminist movement now argues for abortion in part as a means of population control of the poor and undesirable. Sometimes it is made explicit. (Incidentally, not too long ago, Ronald Reagan accepted abortion and Jesse Jackson opposed it for this very reason.) You couldn't have a clearer instance of the strange confluence of relativism and righteousness.

Mr. D'Souza: Yet normally if one raises a hint of eugenics, it is totally unacceptable. So my question is, how do abortion-rights activists gain immunity from that normal punishment?

Mr. Murray: Because they are on the "right" side of the issue in other ways; nobody is going to hold it against them.

Just recently I had a fascinating session with the editors of the *New Republic* over the last chapter of my I.Q. book. In the book, my co-author and I describe what we see as strong empirical evidence of downward pressure on the intellectual capital of the country, due to differential birth rates between more and less intelligent individuals. In our last chapter we say we are scared stiff of any government attempts to deal with this, because we can imagine no acceptable recommendation whatsoever from the government to encourage fertility among some women and discourage it among others. That is so fraught with dangers that we don't want to see it happen. We say that explicitly.

Then we go on to say that the problem with current government policy is the opposite. Right now, with the welfare system, we have an incentive structure that manipulates fertility. It doesn't encourage women with high I.Q.s to have babies, but rather women with low average intelligence. So we say the government ought to stop subsidizing births to anybody, rich or poor.

What really upsets people is probably something other than what you're specifically saying. There's almost always some deeper sensitivity that you're goading.

—Charles Murray

Well, this was taken as a eugenics policy. To ask the government to withdraw from an area was very aggressively interpreted as meaning we want the government to encourage high I.Q. women to have more babies. But that's not what we said.

I am finding that no matter how clearly you say things, a violator of conventional liberal sensibilities will be assumed to mean other, hidden, darker things. Similarly, the right-to-life groups get no credit at all for idealism. The right-to-life groups are largely white and conservative, and are fully aware of who, if abortions are reduced, will be having more babies (minorities, disproportionately). And they basically say, we don't care. We don't care if it is people who are poor and black and so forth who will have more babies. We are still against abortion on moral and human rights grounds.

Ms. Sommers: It's true the right-to-life people are never considered idealists. According to the media, the other pro-choice side holds the moral high ground. Among feminists, women are naturally "moral" and men are a menace.

On campus, for example, the "date rape" movement and the "Take Back the Night" marches are giant mobilizations to help young women cope with the threat of rape. Katie Roiphe has pointed out that a young woman's chances of being raped at Princeton or Mount Holyoke or Smith or the University of Minnesota are miniscule. We have massive resources going to staff rape crisis centers for privileged young women on our campuses, but women who really need the services are women in the inner city, which suffers a much higher incidence of sexual assault. We are seeing a kind of gentrification of rape and battery.

Similarly, the American Association of University Women is strongly advocating that resources and attention be channeled to white, middle-class girls whom they call "shortchanged," when actually the group most educationally at risk today is boys, African-American boys in particular.

Mr. Murray: To the extent that I am animated by anger in anything I write, the sort of hypocrisy you just pointed out is the main source.

Look who are mouthing the pieties about the importance of the public school as an engine of democracy: Ted Kennedy and all the folks who you know damned well are either moving to suburbs where their kids go to excellent public schools or else putting them in private schools. We all know that. The hypocrisy is so close to the surface that I say to myself, how can these people not understand what they are doing?

Mr. D'Souza: Are we all free speech absolutists here, or do we accept that speech can and should be regulated?

Ms. Sommers: Well, I'm old-fashioned enough that I don't mind having rules of civility on the campus. There are certain words so hostile and so hateful—especially certain racial epithets—that I see no reason for tolerating them.

I'm much more frightened of the thought codes. I'm told Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz now tapes his lectures when he discusses rape statutes, because he fears someone will rush out and interpret his arguments as a form of harassment. On many campuses, you cannot have a philosophical discussion over affirmative action or

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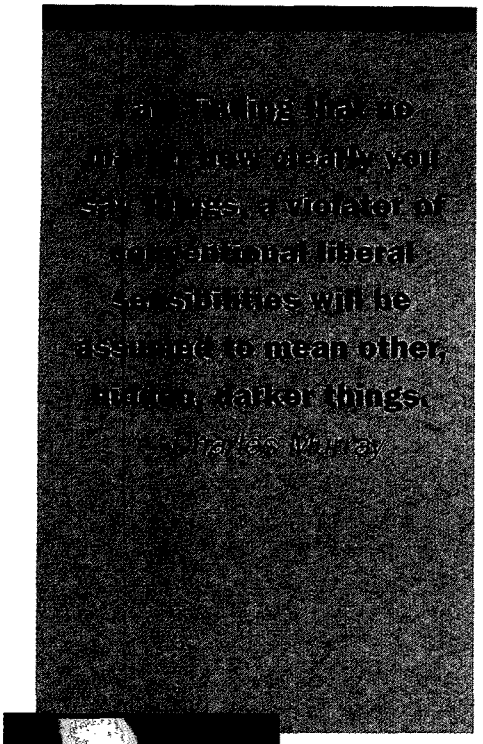

abortion. This is worrying.

Mr. Hitchens: I devoutly believe that words ought to be weapons. That is why I got into this business in the first place. I don't seek the title of "inoffensive," which I think is one of the nastiest things that could be said about an individual writer.

Mr. D'Souza: You're saying if words hurt, that's okay?

Mr. Hitchens: Well, I've tried to make them do so. If I were better at my job than I am, the membership of the U.S. Senate would be other than what it currently is.

The viability of censorship depends on whom you grant the authority to be the censor. For example, because I have a dear friend who developed multiple sclerosis, I stopped using the word *sclerotic* in my prose. If anyone had *told* me I couldn't use it, I'm certain that my response would have been different.

It is a great social triumph and very much to the credit of the United States that no serious person would dream today of being caught dead using the word *nigger.* And I believe most people refrain not because of the consequences that would occur, but because they're convinced it would not be right. This was accomplished over a reasonably short time without any coercion whatever and has had an enormous effect.

I think it is also true that a lot of black people believe that white people wait until they have left the room before they use the word. That is a shame, and I blame it on increasing segregation in society.

Mr. D'Souza: I think perhaps people in the universities have externalized the idea of vice and virtue. Instead of seeing vice and virtue as personal categories to be used by individuals to guide their own actions, vice and virtue have become exclusively political concepts. A bad person is someone who offends prevailing sensibilities.

It's also interesting to note that the women's studies and black studies departments, which were originally set up to fight the intolerance of traditional academic departments, are now among the most intolerant places on campus. In a history course, if you write a paper suggesting the French Revolution was terrible, you don't worry that it will affect your classroom standing. But if you stand up in a women's studies class and say you think abortion on demand is wrong, this generates enormous discomfort, and you have to watch out for your grade.

Are we witnessing a swinging of the pendulum in which the Left, which used issues like free speech as tactical weapons in order to gain power, now has abandoned openness as a useless tool?

Years ago, young Marxists didn't say, "I'm a Marxist and I'm right about the world." They said, "Don't censor me; let me say my piece." But then when they became chairmen of their departments, free speech became an irritant that was put aside.

Ms. Sommers: The majority of even very liberal faculty generally don't want draconian speech and harassment codes. But a tiny cohort of powerful and controlling faculty—particularly activists in women's studies—will go to great lengths to promote them. They will encourage students to rally, to occupy your office, and so forth. And campus administrators like Donna Shalala, who are basically politicians, will go out of their way to appease and placate these vocal minorities.

Mr. Murray: The idea of intellectual freedom and a person's right to think and write whatever he wants is not a natural phenomenon in human history. It had to be developed and sustained by applying a lot of energy. So it is not so surprising that it collapsed once certain clear, bright lines began to be breached.

We've witnessed the bridge point. I entered academe in the fall of 1961 at Harvard, and I left in June of 1965, just as the so-called sixties were really beginning. When I arrived, there was still an utter hegemony of the idea that the university is a sacred place where your obligation is to think and to write and you have freedom to do that. Once that ideal became contaminated with issues of social justice, the intellectual freedom principle quickly got lost. If it is not an absolute ideal, it is too obviously vulnerable to all sorts of emotional and very persuasive pleas, as in the 1960s. Intellectual freedom is a delicate plant.

Mr. D'Souza: It is a liberal idea, and it relies upon a certain liberal faith in the existence of truth. Today's philosophical skepticism about the idea of truth is surely linked to the decline of intellectual openness. If there is no absolute truth, however elusive, out there, then freedom isn't justified. Suddenly there are plenty of reasons to place pragmatic curbs on anything that might upset someone.

Mr. Hitchens: There is a utilitarian case for free expression. It recognizes that the freedom to speak must also be insisted on for the person who thinks differently, because it is pointless to support only free speech for people who agree with you. It is not only unprincipled to want that, but also self-defeating. For your own sake, you need to know how other people think.

Scientific innovation, among other things, isn't possible without contentious inquiry.

Ms. Sommers: Yes, rigorous science has so far not been affected. But you have to look at what is going on in the academy in philosophy departments, literature departments, and history departments. Many professors who know that an argument is faulty and flawed and ridiculous will remain silent. I saw, for example, a case where Sandra Harding went to MIT to give a feminist critique of science in favor of what she calls feminist process.

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I spoke later to a distinguished philosopher of science who was listening to her lecture. I asked him what he thought. He said it was complete nonsense; it was incoherent. I asked why he didn't speak up he replied, "I'm just hoping it will go away." But it's not going to go away. He's more likely to be going away. He should have challenged her. Admittedly, to have done so would have been risky. But he owes it to his students and to science to speak up. But he was no exception. Male faculty throughout the country have proved to be craven. When the feminists call the academy sexist the men run for cover.

We have a system of quality control in scholarship. It is called criticism. This has broken down when it comes to feminist research. Scholars are not correcting the faulty research for fear of appearing illiberal or "sexist." This has done terrible harm already.

Mr. D'Souza: The pressures can be discomforting. Some time ago, I was on a campus where student protesters showed up at my talk dressed as slaves and chained themselves to their seats. These were people with an enormous sense of moral melodrama, people who used moral pressure as a source of power. I didn't want to make these people feel bad, and I felt awkward that what I was saying—which to me was an exchange of ideas, a lecture and debate—was so offensive to these people. Isn't it true that when people feel so strongly that they are willing to lie down on the railway tracks or tie themselves to your car, then they are going to win, because most people aren't willing to take criticism to that degree?

Mr. Murray: It bothers me that so many people will back off just because of that threat. Three years ago I was giving some lectures at the University of Denver, talking about the issues in my current book—nothing very exotic, the heritability of intelligence, the predictiveness of I.Q., and so forth. But they wanted supporting remarks, and so they started calling various psychology departments around the country. They told me the typical answer was, "Well, what he is saying is right, but I don't want to get involved."

Then there is Stephen Thernstrom up at Harvard, a historian whose work I admire, who got vilified for one remark that seemed to address slavery in such a way that it was not entirely, utterly odious. He was talking about some of the economic aspects. In response to his critics, he simply stopped giving that course. He shouldn't have given in.

Mr. Hitchens: But don't you see? There's a general societal vernacular that conditions this sort of response. Everything in this country is designed to stress bipartisanship over partisanship, consensus over division. If you are accused of being divisive, that's considered terrible. Anything dialectical—no good. A healer—great, axiomatically great. People say, well, there's more heat than light being generated here, as if the bloody fools didn't know that, as a scientific principle, heat and light come from the same source.

You get points for avoiding combat, for blurring matters of principle all the time. Everything conditions us to be this way. This is not the responsibility of the Left, believe me.

Mr. D'Souza: I think there is truth to that. But I also think that the liberal's operating impulse seems to begin with indignation, a sense of passion, a sense of outrage. A lot of sentences begin, "I'm shocked and appalled." Whereas the conservative's operating impulse seems to be cynicism, kind of a chuckle or a horse laugh.

These are two very different styles, and I think they produce different attitudes toward challenging research. They also partly explain why conservatives don't tend to go into media and other activist fields that mobilize a lot of pressure in political directions.

During my college experience, I felt myself moving in the direction of philosophical conservatism but temperamental radicalism. By that I mean, I felt myself taking a certain strange pleasure in challenging orthodoxies and in upsetting the people in charge. I never saw the reactions that resulted as being something I could entirely complain about, because I would have to admit they were partly provoked.

That being said, I do think that the conservative view of the world, because it expects less of human nature, is less indignant, and thus less susceptible to the kind of manic enforcement of taboos that we are beginning to see in American intellectual life and on campus. If you think that human nature is perfectible, you are much more upset if you see deviation.

Mr. Murray: When I look back in history, I think, well, conservatives used to enforce some taboos pretty well, didn't they?

Mr. D'Souza: Well, I'm thinking of modern American conservatism—which is really a curious amalgam of classical liberalism and traditionalism—and I think no, it's not especially censorious.

Ms. Sommers: What I find interesting is that I'm not really a maverick with a lot of views different from my colleagues. The majority of them actually agree with me. The difference is that I speak out about it, and I go into the lairs. I go to the feminist conferences and deliver—well, I used to be invited to deliver—papers. I'm not invited any more.

So, perhaps it's not so much an intellectual difference as a temperamental one.

Mr. Murray: Are you thick-skinned about the criticism?

Ms. Sommers: Yes.

Mr. Murray: See, I'm the reverse of you, Dinesh. I'm philosophically radical and temperamentally moderate. I am one of those people Christopher just pointed to, someone who really wants to have others agree with me and be persuaded after reading my work. My wife points out that I'm always shocked to find out that people are not persuaded by my crystal-clear prose. I'm very thin-skinned.

I admit that critical things calling my competence and integrity into question just drive me crazy, which has led me to wonder how the hell I ever got into this business in the first place. I don't really have a good answer, so there must be some bizarre, subconscious urges here.

Ms. Sommers: There is a special personal pleasure in seeing self-righteous people taken off guard and put in the defensive position they have happily put others in before. The feminist establishment is so elitist and so patronizing toward the women they claim to represent—they richly deserve to be discredited.

I don't mind their indignation and scorn. As a middle-age mom from the suburbs it's amusing to be thought of as a

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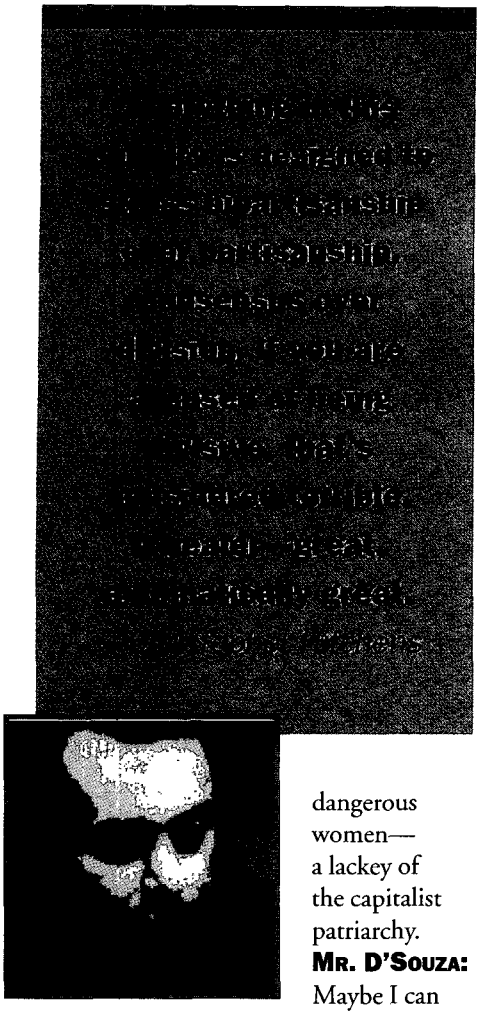

dangerous women—a lackey of the capitalist patriarchy.

Mr. D'Souza: Maybe I can conclude by asking what you think is the ultimate taboo in American political debate, and why you think it is off limits.

Mr. Murray: If there were an ultimate taboo, I wouldn't be able to think of it, because it would be a taboo that I buy into so much that I don't realize I'm cutting myself off from inquiry.

In this country, race generally has been the biggest conscious taboo. But at the moment I think Christina, in tackling feminism, has taken on the most organized and angry defenders of a faith.

Ms. Sommers: At first, my opponents reacted by ignoring the book. When that did not work they went on the attack. Now, they are zealously scanning the book for infractions and circulating fact sheets to the effect that I dated the 1993 Superbowl on the 30th instead of the 31st.

I must say I'm a little surprised, because I try to make my arguments moderate in tone. I tried to be balanced in my book. I made every effort to be reasonable and not strident. I thought that would be effective. It turns out that we are dealing with something that is not going to be defeated by evidence and argument. It requires deprogramming.

Mr. D'Souza: Are mental taboos ever necessary? Are there some fragile, indefensible beliefs that can be protected only by outlawing debate? Or is it rather that the truth itself is very painful, and that there are circumstances in which the truth itself should not be heard? Certainly we know that in polite discourse you don't say to someone you meet on the street, "I see you've gained 35 pounds." There are all kinds of reasons in civil society to suppress truth. The question is, Are there circumstances in which this even applies to intellectual life?

Ms. Sommers: The answer to that is no. Apart from the usual exceptions of falsely crying fire in a crowded theater or humiliating someone personally, free expression must be protected.

Mr. Hitchens: The biggest difficulty I have in taking part in, say, mainstream television panel discussions is the lurking assumption that we all share a common interest. In areas like faith in capitalism and religion, I find myself holding views that most people just don't think are worth considering. So, if I am asked—not that I would be—by McNeil or by Lehrer whether our interests are best served by an intervention in Haiti, I in theory have to object to the grammar of the question because I do not believe that society is a family.

Mr. Murray: I want to insert a slight note of optimism. My sense is that this pendulum started to swing as soon as the term "political correctness" came into common parlance. You could not have such a derogatory phrase about this way of looking at the world if the movement it represented were ascendant.

When Dick Herrnstein and I started our book in 1990, my fears for its reception were far greater than they are now. I sense that such notions as truth are beginning to make a comeback, and that there might be some resuscitation of academic ideals. You may be wrong in this sense, Christina, when you say that political correctness is not going to be beaten by facts. It can't immediately be beaten by facts, but it's suffering from long-festering wounds. I suspect you will ultimately be on the winning side in this.

Ms. Sommers: I would agree with that. Already, I think the feminist establishment is having to adjust to a new set of rules. They are not going to be believed when they trot out the usual litany of victim statistics. And if they don't have those statistics, they have lost a powerful weapon, and so they're going to lose some of their energy. I think a more reasonable feminism will move to the fore.

Mr. Murray: What are you going to take on next?

Ms. Sommers:: I think an important next step is to discredit the self-esteem cult that has so strong an influence on contemporary American education. That's going to take some doing.

Mr. D'Souza: Yes, because not only is self-esteem a liberal political idea, it also sounds very American—the notion that if you feel better about yourself, your life will improve. So the feminists in that sense are perhaps pro-American in this rare instance. They are tapping into something popular.

Ms. Sommers: Yes. Calling schoolgirls demoralized and abused and offering recovery programs and gender bias workshops brought together two fashionable themes. To combine feminism with the recovery movement was a brilliant tactic. It turned Gloria Steinem's *Revolution from Within* into a bestseller. All this works until someone checks the research. In fact girls are not shortchanged and not demoralized. That's bound to become known. But, for the moment the recovery movement remains powerful.

Mr. Hitchens: Yes, that is a form of utopianism. As political correctness, it has a generous impulse, but it's a rational mistake. I'm fed up with people saying, Well, I *feel* such and such. I want to hear *thoughts,* not feelings. I think it would be a great achievement to dispatch this self-esteem mania.

Reasoning is really the revolutionary practice. As the old boy said, the voice of reason is small, but very persistent.

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Transcript

WORDS WORTH REPEATING

Who Stole Feminism?

From a Bradley lecture by Christina Hoff Sommers, delivered at the American Enterprise Institute, September 12, 1994.

Until 1989, I was an academic feminist in good standing. My essays were included in feminist anthologies; I was invited to feminist conferences; my courses were cross-listed with Women's Studies. Then I published an essay in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* that said something politically incorrect about the famous staircase scene in *Gone with the Wind.* "Many women," I wrote, "continue to enjoy the sight of Rhett Butler carrying Scarlett O'Hara up the stairs to a fate undreamt of in feminist philosophy."

I meant that to be both a light-hearted comment and a serious warning that feminist theorists were out of touch with women. My remark incensed an organization within the American Philosophical Association known as SWIP—the Society for Women in Philosophy. SWIP felt the need to react formally to my heresy and arranged a meeting at which the feminist philosopher Marilyn Friedman read a paper showing once and for all how my views were treasonable to women.

Friedman told the overflow audience that she was stunned by my flippant reaction to Rhett's rape of Scarlett. For in her eyes there was no doubt whatsoever that Rhett raped Scarlett that night. Indeed, Friedman compared Rhett Butler to the sociopathic murderer/rapist Richard Speck.

I suggested to the audience that feminist philosophers ought to reflect on the difference between being raped and being "ravished." It is a critical distinction—quite clear to the millions of women who read romance fiction. It is behind the commonsense conviction that Rhett Butler is in no way akin to Richard Speck. The SWIP audience stared at me in angry incomprehension.

I had crossed a divide. For if feminism is a religion, Rhett Butler is its devil. My casual acceptance of the women who find Rhett Butler so attractive was not to be forgiven. I never recovered my reputation as a reliable member of the sisterhood.

A surprising number of clever and powerful feminists share the sincere belief that American women still live under an oppressive patriarchy in which men collectively keep women down. It is customary for these feminists to assemble to exchange stories and to talk about the "anger issues" that vex them.

One such conference took place at the Graduate Center of City University of New York in October 1992. Jane Marcus, a professor at CUNY, called the afternoon "Anger" session to order, introduced herself as "an expert on anger," and urged conference participants to use their rage in their writing. She introduced other panelists as angry in one way or another: Alice Jardine of Harvard's French Department was "angry and struggling." Brenda Silver of Dartmouth had been "struggling and angry since 1972." Catharine Stimpson, former vice-provost at Rutgers University and recently selected to head the distinguished MacArthur Fellows Program, was introduced as "an enraged and engaged intellectual."

Each speaker I heard recited her tale of outrage and gave warning of more male backlash. Sarah Ruddick, a New School feminist known for "valorizing" women as the gentle nurturers of our species, told the assembled feminists that "our anger arouses the patriarchy to disgust." Gloria Steinem took the microphone and explained why she was enraged: "I have become even more angry...the alternative is depression."

It was clear that these privileged women genuinely felt aggrieved. It was equally clear that the bitter spirits they were dispensing to the American public were unwholesome and divisive.

I agree with feminist writers such as Janet Radcliffe-Richards and Janice Raymond who compare modern feminism to a powerful religion. There is an interesting difference in the public testimony of its adherents, however. While the devout of other religions tend to confess their sins, the devout feminist relentlessly proclaims how she has been sinned against.

The gender feminist sees revelations of monstrosity in the most familiar and seemingly innocuous phenomena. Here, for example, is what Professor Susan McClary, a musicologist at the University of Minnesota, tells her students to listen for in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: "The point of recapitulation in the first movement of the Ninth is one of the most horrifying moments in music, as the carefully prepared cadence is frustrated, damming up energy which finally explodes in the throttling, murderous rage of a rapist incapable of attaining release."

But it is not just a matter of an odd perspective on society. The "gender war" requires a constant flow of horror stories documenting the perfidy of men and the suffering of women in the sex/gender system. These feminist atrocity claims function like all war propaganda: They manipulate emotions and galvanize the troops. "We need fighting madness," says Eleanor Smeal. To get it, the feminist leaders are in the business of disseminating disinformation. Patricia Ireland, president of the National Organization for Women, recently informed Charlie Rose and a television audience that "battery of pregnant women is the number-one cause of birth defects

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in this country"; hundreds of newspapers around the country repeated the statement. I called the March of Dimes to ask about the study. Maureen Corry, director of the March's Education and Health Promotion Program, denied all knowledge of it. "We have never seen this research before," she said. Andrea Ziltzer of their media relations department told me that the rumor was spinning out of control: Governors' offices, state health departments, and Washington politicians had flooded the office with phone calls. Even Senator Edward Kennedy had requested a copy of the "report."

So, there is no such research. The question arises: Why was everybody so credulous? Battery responsible for more birth defects than genetic disorders such as spina bifida, Down's syndrome, Tay-Sachs, sickle cell anemia? More than congenital heart disorders? More than alcohol and crack? Where were the fact-checkers, the editors, the skeptical journalists?

Too many prominent feminist leaders are role models of intolerance and anti-male prejudice. Too many play fast and loose with the truth. Students in the feminist classrooms imbibe the false statistics on women's victimization; they learn all about how men keep women subjugated and frightened. Is it any wonder that the more sensitive among them become horrified at what the sex/gender system is doing to women? Hysteria on campus over the male threat to women's safety and dignity runs higher every year. In that atmosphere, not only fairness but logic and sober learning are at a grave disadvantage.

The Negro Family

Extracts from the so-called Moynihan Report, published March 1965.

The evidence—not final, but powerfully persuasive—is that the Negro family in the urban ghettos is crumbling.... So long as this situation persists, the cycle of poverty and disadvantage will continue to repeat itself.... Measures that have worked in the past, or would work for most groups in the present, will not work here. A national effort is required, directed to a new kind of goal: the establishment of a stable Negro family structure.

There is considerable evidence that the Negro community is in fact dividing between a stable middle-class group that is steadily growing stronger and more successful, and an increasingly disorganized and disadvantaged lower-class group.

Margaret Mead has pointed out that..."In every known human society, everywhere in the world, the young male learns that when he grows up one of the things which he must do in order to be a full member of society is to provide food for some female and her young.... Within the family, each new generation of young males learn the appropriate nurturing behavior and superimpose upon their biologically given maleness this learned parental role. When the family breaks down—as it does under slavery, under certain forms of indentured labor and serfdom, in periods of extreme social unrest during wars, revolutions, famines, and epidemics, or in periods of abrupt transition from one type of economy to another—this delicate line of transmission is broken. Men may flounder badly in these periods, during which the primary unit may again become mother and child."

White children without fathers at least perceive all about them the pattern of men working. Negro children without fathers flounder and fail.

One study showed that children from fatherless homes seek immediate gratification of their desires far more than children with fathers present. Others revealed that children who hunger for immediate gratification are more prone to delinquency, along with other less social behavior....

Richard A. Cloward and Robert Ontell have commented, ..."We are plagued, in work with these [underprivileged] youth, by what appears to be a low tolerance for frustration. They are not able to absorb setbacks."

A stable home is a crucial factor in counteracting the effects of racism upon Negro personality. "A warm, supportive home can effectively compensate for many of the restrictions the Negro child faces outside of the ghetto."

Service in the United States Armed Forces is the only experience open to the Negro American in which he is truly treated as an equal...there is another special quality about military service for Negro men: it is an utterly masculine world. Given the strains of the disorganized and matrifocal family life in which so many Negro youth come of age, the Armed Forces are a dramatic and desperately needed change: a world away from women, a world run by strong men of unquestioned authority, where discipline, if harsh, is nonetheless orderly and predictable, and where rewards, if limited, are granted on the basis of performance.

For males, females, and the combined group, the I.Q.'s of children with fathers in the home are always higher than those who have no father in the home."

Three centuries of injustice have brought about deep-seated structural distortions in the life of the Negro American. At this point, the present tangle of pathology is capable of perpetuating itself without assistance from the white world....

E. Franklin Frazier put it most succinctly in 1950: "As the result of family disorganization a large proportion of Negro children and youth have not undergone the socialization which only the family can provide. The disorganized families have failed to provide for their emotional needs and have not provided the discipline and habits which are necessary for personality development.... Moreover, family disorganization has been partially responsible for a large amount of juvenile delinquency and adult crime among Negroes. Since the widespread family disorganization among Negroes has resulted from the failure of the father to play the role in family life required by American society, the mitigation of this problem must await those changes in the Negro and American society which will enable the Negro father to play the role required of him."

Nothing was done in response to Frazier's argument. Matters were left to take care of themselves, and as matters will, grew worse not better. The problem is now more serious, the obstacles greater.

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Journal

THE DAILY WORK OF AMERICANS

One Move and I'll Shoot

Gaye Wagner

I've heard it said that the Rodney King beating incident has changed policing forever. As a police officer, I'm not sure what that means. To see Rodney King as a symbol of the inequities pressing on urban minorities is also to see his batterers as a symbol of the inequity in expecting police to solve increasingly complex problems they are not powerful or wise enough to solve alone.

When I first saw the video that captured L.A. police delivering those crashing baton blows to their fallen suspect, I was transfixed. What happened? Later, when the video was played again, and again, and yet again, nausea took the place of curiosity. I couldn't watch. Then I wondered, could it happen to me? Could I be one of those officers who repulsed onlookers?

I work in an inner-city neighborhood in San Diego, less than three hours south of L.A. The neighborhood is diverse—home to African-Americans, Latinos, Asians, and whites. Gangs, drugs, gunfire, and the violence they portend are part of the landscape.

Although most residents are middle-class, and most of the neighborhoods are clean and well kept, daily street violence defines how outsiders see our neighborhoods. There are no major supermarkets, movie theaters, jewelry stores, or department stores where I work—that way they can't get robbed. Liquor stores and small markets with overpriced and outdated goods are the most visible businesses. Whole blocks stagnate with vacant buildings because high crime rates make properties undesirable. Some days residents and those who work in these neighborhoods feel forgotten.

MY HEART AND LUNGS WERE EXPLODING FROM THE RUN AND THE ANTICIPATION THAT HE HAD A GUN AND WOULD TURN ON ME AND FIRE.

In these neighborhoods, much police time is spent in the same alleys and corners known for generations as trouble spots. Like the residents, we tread among graffiti-marred walls and streets littered with broken cocaine pipes, discarded hypodermic needles, and containers of alcoholic dredge like King Cobra or Mad Dog 20/20. We catch our breath when the stench of urine is too great. In these alleys and on these corners, we try to keep the peace and solve problems among drug addicts, alcoholics, and those who cannot afford to live elsewhere. In these neighborhoods, heroes are made—those who overcome fear to protect their families, those who fight back. Some days I want to resort to extraordinary means to cleanse the sludge from the lives of the good people who fill these neighborhoods. More often than not, however, we play by the rules, though the rules often seem one-sided.

The transition from a sheltered middle-class world to the rhythm of the inner-city takes time. Time to learn patience for a world less ordered and less respectful toward authority. Time to learn that danger hangs in the air and that senses need honing to detect its presence. Spotting the butt of a gun under a Burger King wrapper on a car seat, seeing a towel on a car floorboard angled in the shape of a gun, or feeling a weapon inside the pocket of a suspicious pedestrian who refuses to show his hands remind you to beware. Such memories stay with you on each new traffic stop and each new street conversation.

Many days, the job is not so different from or much more stressful than any other job. In fact, most times, it's challenging, adventurous, and entertaining. Other times, too many hours or days in a row find you with prisoners who are combative, spitting, vomit-drenched, or poison-mouthed; too many consecutive radio calls bring you to the doorstep of bared emotions—seeing a child beaten until he's bruised black, finding you are too near a gun, flying rock, or another object meant to hurt you just because you were too relaxed for one moment. When those pressures build, you're poised to attack before being attacked. I've had those moments. Then there are times that put us emotionally on guard. For weeks after a fellow officer was fatally ambushed, I was less patient, I saw threats where none existed, and I reacted to ignorant taunts about my comrade's death. Short weeks before the Rodney King incident, L.A. officers were reminded of their own mortality by the death of Officer Tina Kerbrat, who was ambushed on duty.

With enough time logged on the streets, all of us can remember a time when we lost, or almost lost, control. I remember chasing a speeding black Camaro that spewed exhaust clouds as it recklessly raced by cars in its path. School was closing for the day, and traffic was busy. I gave chase with lights, siren, and adrenaline. I was alone, unable to transmit the location or plate number because of heavy radio traffic. The driver unwittingly yielded a mile down the road because he thought I was en route to an emergency call.

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The Camaro was low to the ground and black throughout. The windows were heavily tinted. The driver was black and decked in black Harley Davidson garb with chains hanging from his belt. I had trouble seeing into the car, and my instincts told me to beware. I asked him to step out. He did, but kept his right hand from view. On the sidewalk, I asked to see his hands. He ignored me, keeping his right side and hand away from me. I repeated my request; he ignored me. When I raised my voice in command, he turned and fled into oncoming traffic. As he turned, I saw silver in his right hand and believed he had a gun. Like the dog chases the cat, I chased him, yelling into my radio.

We ran along the street's yellow divider and in and out of traffic. Traffic swerved to avoid us; some pulled over. He ran down a side street, then into an isolated canyon area. I lost sight of him briefly and then closed in enough to draw my gun. I yelled for him to raise his hands and drop to his knees. He turned, and I yelled commands with my eyes fixed on my sights. He dropped to his knees, but still I couldn't see his right hand. I screeched for him to lie flat on his stomach, arms spread in front. He fell on his stomach with his right hand under his body.

My heart and lungs were exploding from the run and the anticipation that he had a gun and would turn on me and fire. My training told me to hold him at gunpoint until cover arrived and he could be safely handcuffed. My brain told me I was going to shoot this man unless I could cuff him and know his hands were secured and I was safe. I walked up, put my gun to his head and, with words that surprised me, said, "One move, and I'll shoot your ass." By then, he believed I was a crazed woman and that I would in fact shoot. I had him slowly move his hands around to be cuffed and left him prone in the sand until cover arrived. I stood by, choking from runner's cough, and he lay convulsing with dry heaves.

When cover officers ran up, I asked the driver why he had run, and he said, "because I didn't have a license." Both the presence of the cover officers and a quick pat-down for weapons reassured me that the threat was gone. I started to come down; my brain moved from primal cruise control to almost-human comprehension. "What? You ran for no license? A third of the people on the road in California have no license." "Well officer, I didn't have a license and you intimidated me, so I ran." (This from a man taller and a hundred pounds heavier than I.) Still coughing and weak from the run and the expectation of my first gunfight, all I could think was, I almost shot and killed this man for no license?

From alert, to car chase, to adrenaline rushing in, to foot chase, to fear, to threat eliminated, to relief, to anger.... Suddenly I was furious at this man because his stupid behavior almost caused me to shoot him. I started screaming at him, and I swung my foot to start kicking him, but my cover officer grabbed my arm and pulled me aside. Such wisdom.

As it turned out, my friend in the Camaro was a career criminal and drug offender on parole who was high from speedballing. The Camaro he drove was stolen, with a stolen engine from a second car and license and V.I.N. plates from other cars.

All in all, an ordinary occurrence in this job, but more adrenaline-spiked than usual. I had no right to kick him, but I came very close when I realized how things might have ended for us both.

Could I have been one of those officers that repulsed a nation? I hope not.

Gaye Wagner is a patrol officer with the San Diego Police Department.

Harvest Time

Weather. Perhaps bond traders mark their lives by bull and bear markets, real estate agents by their last big sale, baseball players by balls and strikes, and strikes, but here in Westboro, we remember weather. I can't remember my first date with my wife, my high school graduation, or anything I learned in college, but I can remember the weather from every year of my life here on the farm. Julie and I were married in a drought year. Our first child came home from the hospital after an ice storm. Our second daughter was born after a three-inch rain that saved our corn crop—perhaps the only instance where labor has been induced by successful pollination (of corn).

HARVEST IS BETTER THAN IT USED TO BE. MY FATHER'S GENERATION OF FARMERS IS MARKED BY A HUGE NUMBER OF MISSING FINGERS.

Last year, the weather was a disaster. Twenty-four inches of rain in July flooded our bottom ground, ruined the crops on our hill ground, and generally made for a lousy harvest. It was the second bad year in the last four, with 1989 being the driest year ever on our farm. But this year, we're enjoying harvest because our weather has been wonderful. For years, one of the seed corn companies ran a television commercial that had a smiling farmer on his combine exclaim: "Man, that is real corn!" The commercial would have been more realistic if the farmer had had a three-day growth of beard, a skinned knuckle from a recalcitrant nut, and clothes that looked a little less like an L.L. Bean catalog, but the ad did do a good job of catching the feeling that comes with a good crop.

Of course harvest, even in a good year, is not always a great deal of fun. We work seven days a week, 14 hours a day, unless we're combining soybeans and the dew doesn't arrive early. If the beans stay dry, we will run from 7:00 in the morning until 2:00 A.M. Now that's a long day. And harvest is accompanied by its share of frustration. In our first week of harvest this year, the transmission in one of our trucks breathed its last; I spent two days

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suspended 30 feet in the air trying to repair a grain bin; we had flat tires and cows out and combines "broke down" and, well, you get the picture. The price of corn is low, the cost of repairs is high, and we have another six weeks of this to look forward to.

Here on the Hurst farm, harvest is a family affair. We have two combines, three trucks, two augers, an auger wagon, four farmers, three farmers' wives, a fiancé, five pickups, and seven grandkids. All this must be moved from farm to farm over a large part of Atchison County as we harvest. The "invasion" of Haiti took less logistical skill than planning out a typical day here in the fall. We communicate with commercial band radios and cellular phones. Lunch is eaten on the go. The only thing that is guaranteed to stop progress is the weather or high school sports.

Harvest is better than it used to be. My father's generation of farmers is marked by a huge number of missing fingers and even arms from accidents caused by corn pickers, the technology that preceded today's combines. Harvest didn't start until much later, because we couldn't dry the corn mechanically and had to wait until it dried in the fields. A day when Dad picked 12 loads, or 1,200 bushels, was an exceedingly good day. Now we can combine 1,200 bushels an hour. Harvest was never done before Christmas, and often lasted into the new year. This year, if the weather cooperates, we will be done by Halloween.

But all frustrations aside, this job can be fun. We dry our grain with large electric fans that push air up through the corn. They are powered by large electric motors that start with a sound that is very much like the theme from Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue,* starting out with a low growl and ending on a high note that lasts for months. The crescendo of a grain bin fan that marks the start of our harvest is an exciting sound to me, and in a year like this one, with a good crop and beautiful weather, well, it just doesn't get any better.

Blake Hurst is a Tarkio, Missouri, corn farmer.

My Lunch with Boris

Ann G. Macfarlane

Back in September I had the privilege of having lunch in Seattle with Boris Yeltsin—even if I did have to share the honor with 699 other "business, civic and government leaders from western states." As a digestive event, it was a mixed experience. For the very moment our plates of Pacific Northwest salmon arrived, President Yeltsin decided to address us. Protocol, of course, forbade any meeting of fish and fork for the next 40 minutes. The president gave a good, passionate speech. But when my seven-year-old saw a segment of it on the five o'clock news, he asked, "Why is he so angry?" "He's not angry," I replied, "he just wants to make us understand what he has to say."

President Yeltsin is a forthright man, intense and sincere. At the same time, I was struck by how self-indulgent and occasionally rash his luncheon performance turned out to be. Take his reaction to the music performed by the Seattle Peace Chorus. Apparently impressed by the musicality and dedication of this group, the president invited the chorus to visit Moscow via Lake Baikal, and added that should they accept his invitation, he would provide the means. "Russia is not a poor country," he said, "so all your expenses will be paid."

Well, perhaps I'm becoming a curmudgeon, because all I could think of was the anguish his administrative assistant must have felt as he contemplated the minor financial quagmire his president had just created. (Perhaps Yeltsin's interpreter had the same impulse, for I noticed—as we translators do—that he didn't include the multiyear part of the offer in his English rendering.)

I had the same reaction to the way the president expressed his thanks for being made an honorary citizen of Seattle. It was a splendid impulse, but I doubt that the Parliament of Russia will really exempt all Washington State enterprises from Russian taxes and customs duties.

As I drove home from this grand cocktail-party-cum-lunch, carefully avoiding routes likely to be chosen by the motorcade, something made me think of William James' comment that "the sway of alcohol over mankind is unquestionably due to its power to stimulate the mystical faculties of human nature, usually crushed to earth by the cold facts and dry criticisms of the sober hour. Sobriety diminishes, discriminates, and says no; drunkenness expands, unites, and says yes."

President Yeltsin drank only one glass of champagne in Seattle. Yet his style, his statements, his speech exemplified the grandiosity of the mystical and undiscriminating "yes." Unfortunately, he presides at the moment over a nation where very little yea-saying is possible. So his expansive, impulsive performance left me wondering. Wondering whether Boris Yeltsin will be able to ride the twin horses of mystical affirmation (which all demoralized people desperately need) and practical realism (which a Russia strained even to feed its own people cannot do without). Russia, deep in the cold facts of its sober hours, depends upon that feat.

Ann G. Macfarlane runs a translation service in Seattle.

Running Against Myself

Greg Kaza

I've just run against myself in an election. I offered my constituents the chance to mark "none of the above" on the ballot for my state House seat. This is a choice I believe every American legislator should offer to constituents.

The "none of the above" (NOTA) ballot option gives citizens a chance to let the government class know of their unhappiness with existing options. Already used in several states, NOTA has champions on both the political Left and Right. Forces as diverse as the editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal* and Green environmentalists in California have promoted the idea. NOTA was a key factor in legitimizing regimes in Eastern Europe in the 1980s. It is one of the best ways to give voters more voice in elections.

I believe that declining voter participation and rising cynicism about government institutions is exacerbated by a frequent lack of electoral choices today. Gerrymandering has created "safe seats" where it is extremely difficult to "throw the bums

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out." The power of incumbency has produced record reelection rates (in the high 90th percentiles for Congress), even while public dissatisfaction with its legislators is at an all-time high. One of the best ways to give voters more voice in elections is to give them the right to say no to all the choices in a particular race.

Michigan election law does not include a NOTA option, but it does allow write-in campaigns using adhesive ballot stickers. So I produced NOTA stickers that voters could use, and announced their availability to citizens in the state house district I represent. The response was revealing.

My colleagues in the Michigan House of Representatives were confused. Most were unenthusiastic and maybe a little concerned about my campaign. "What happens if NOTA wins?" more than one legislative colleague asked.

The answer in Michigan, and most other places, is that while NOTA votes are recorded, they cannot disqualify a candidate even if they are more numerous than his or her vote total. Some proponents advocate a "NOTA with teeth" that mandates a new election with new candidates if NOTA wins.

My constituents now seem to have a clearer understanding of NOTA as a tool of governance, even if most of them are not taking me up on my offer. Here are a few of the comments I've received from voters: "I'm interested in NOTA, but only if the office remains vacant if NOTA wins." "Can a politician's pay be reduced by the percentage of votes that NOTA receives?" And, "Could NOTA be extended to Congress and the presidency?" Good question, that.

As for me, I was reelected in November with 21,006 votes, compared to 7,642 for my Democratic opponent.

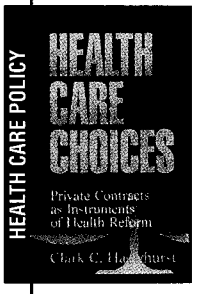
And, oh yes, there were 3,571 voters who skipped my race on the ballot or wrote in NOTA.

Greg Kaza is a 34-year-old Michigan state representative.

NEW TITLES FROM THE AEI PRESS

HEALTH CARE CHOICES
Private Contracts as Instruments of Health Reform

By Clark C. Havighurst



The author contends that private contracts can be sharpened to be an instrument of health reform in the United States and put that care—too long dominated by providers and government—into the hands of the people.

January 1995
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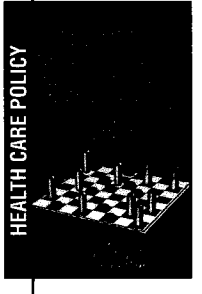
COMPETITIVE STRATEGIES IN PHARMACEUTICAL PRICING

Edited by Robert B. Helms



Contributors explore pricing of pharmaceutical products in both domestic and international markets, forces affecting competition in world markets, how competition affects risks and returns to research and development, and the ways cost-effectiveness research and information are used to promote pharmaceuticals.

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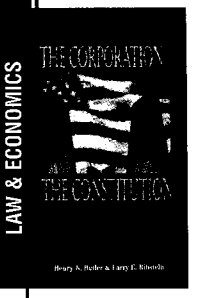
THE CORPORATION AND THE CONSTITUTION

By Henry N. Butler and Larry E. Ribstein



Legal and constitutional treatment of the corporation, the authors argue, is out of touch with economic and business reality. They articulate a contractual theory of the corporation based on the modern economics of the firm and apply this theory to constitutional doctrine.

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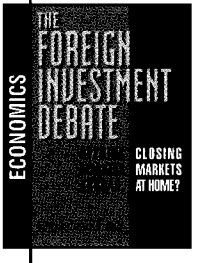
Opening Markets Abroad, Closing Markets at Home?

Edited by Cynthia A. Beltz



The once open doorway for foreign investors in the United States is being gradually narrowed by the policy of conditional national treatment. A new generation of U.S. laws and pending legislation hold foreign firms in the United States responsible for the practices of their home country governments. Should foreign investors be used to open markets abroad? Can we find more cost-effective tools to reduce the obstacles to transnational investing?

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Enterprising

ON BUSINESS AS AN IMAGINATIVE ACT.

It's Broke and You Can't Fix It

THE U.S. POSTAL SERVICE IS IMMUNE TO FINE-TUNING. TIME TO TRY SOMETHING BOLDER.

By Carolyn Lochhead

In 1995, a first-class stamp will cost 32 cents. Happy New Year. The rise of more than 10 percent in mailing costs will cause groaning among the citizenry. It will force more business communication onto alternate, non-mail, paths. And one can hope it might also spur Congress to take a hard look, for the first time in decades, at the basic structure of the U.S. Postal Service. For there's a strong case that what ails the mails can't be fixed. Only finished.

Appropriately, Washington, D.C. mail delivery ranks among the worst in the nation, with New York and Chicago close behind. Mail arrives faster from Prague than from Los Angeles. Postal inspectors find heaps of letters burning under a viaduct, stashed in a condominium, dumped in a ditch. Mortgage checks never reach the bank. Aunt Sally never gets her wedding invitation.

And the man who was brought in two years ago as a private-sector *Wunderkind* to rescue the Postal Service now hears calls for his resignation. Postmaster General Marvin Runyon, known as "Carvin' Marvin" from his hard-charging, cost-cutting days with the Tennessee Valley Authority and the auto industry, insists he has no intention of stepping down. Yet in many corners of the mailing world, whether Runyon stays or goes is beginning to resemble a debate about which deck chairs should go where on the *Titanic*.

At nearly $50 billion in revenue, with 730,000 employees handling 177 billion pieces of mail each year, the government-owned U.S. Postal Service resembles a giant ocean liner—big, powerful, and conventional wisdom has it, unsinkable. All that listing to port, defenders contend, all that heaving and tilting, is nothing a little course correction—or perhaps a new skipper—can't fix.

But to those who depend on the mail, once unthinkable changes are looking more and more inevitable. Radical reform, critics say, is essential if the Postal Service—and its hundreds of thousands of employees—are to avert disaster.

"It's time we faced it," warns Gene A. Del Polito, executive director of the Advertising Mail Marketing Association, a group of catalogue companies, direct-mail firms, and other major mailers who depend on the post office. "The Postal Service is in a sickly state, and its long-term prognosis is not good." Del Polito predicts the Postal Service "simply cannot survive" in its current state.

Conventional wisdom mocks that notion. The Postal Service is too big and too important to fail, defenders say. It is the foundation of the nation's communications system—America's first information superhighway, as Runyon likes to put it. Even more preposterous are such bizarre notions as privatization or repeal of the postal monopoly; all that wild talk during the Reagan years, supporters cluck, never went anywhere.

"The prophets of doom are once again predicting the demise of the Postal Service," Postmaster General Runyon recently declared to a crowd of 5,000 at the National Postal Forum in Washington. "You know the people I'm talking about—the self-appointed experts who cry out that costs are skyrocketing, service is plummeting and the sky is falling around us." Actually, Runyan insisted, the end of today's system "is nowhere in sight."

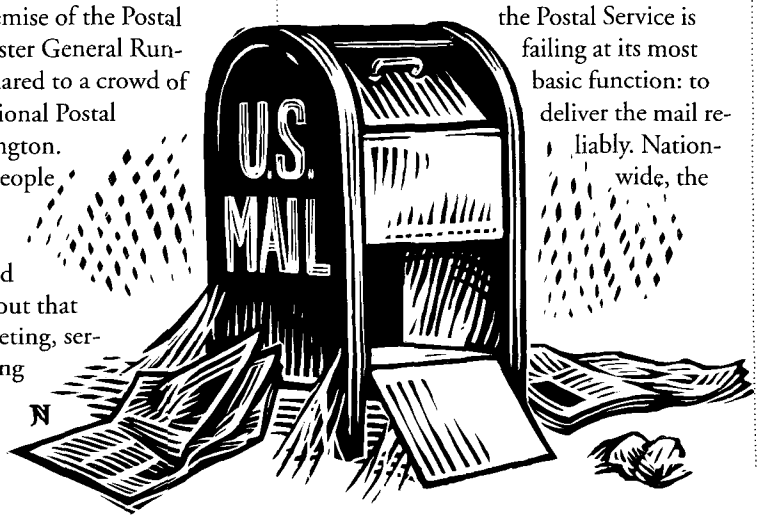

Illustration by Jim Nuttle

Universal prices and universal delivery, supporters contend, are here to stay, and only the U.S. Postal Service can provide them. They note that the postal unions, whose many members reside in every congressional district, will see that no boat gets rocked too hard. Moe Biller, head of the American Postal Workers Union, calls privatization "the oldest story in the world," adding, "I don't think there's any need for it." "There's probably less than one-tenth of 1 percent in Congress who think privatization would be a good idea," agrees a senior Republican aide from the last Congress.

But there are compelling reasons to think the critics may be right this time around. New technology, led by facsimile and electronic mail, is replacing big chunks of first class mail, the heart of the Postal Service's business. Competitors are mounting a new legal challenge to the monopoly. European posts are staking their futures on privatization.

Most threatening of all, the status quo looks increasingly unacceptable to a growing portion of the public. In many areas, the Postal Service is failing at its most basic function: to deliver the mail reliably. Nationwide, the

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on-time delivery rate is 82 percent, but performance often falls way below that in major cities. One week in August, just 27 percent of Washington, D.C. mail reached its destination on time.

Delivery problems go beyond inconvenience. Horror stories like these reported last July in Washington have become quite typical: A realtor received $27,500 in rent checks and commissions months after they were sent; taxpayers were hit by fines because their returns never reached the Internal Revenue Service; homeowners got late penalties because their mortgage checks never reached the bank; stock certificates vanished; electricity was cut off because customers never got a bill; a high school senior missed his chance to attend the college of his choice because his application was lost in the mail; a man had to rush frantically to two embassies the day before his overseas flight because his passport and visa—sent certified mail—had not come.

Screw-ups like these not only are serious inconveniences, they also can be very expensive. And when individuals and businesses can no longer count on the mail to send and receive important correspondence, they find ways to bypass it. One magazine editor said she no longer sends anything from Los Angeles to the East Coast if it has to arrive in fewer than 10 days. She rattles off mail foul-ups from just the last month. A special subscription offer brought responses from all over the country—except the entire West Coast, from which there were zero replies. A call to the post office brought this response: "They didn't go out because the woman who does that was sick."

"You have no recourse," the editor said. "You're stuck. And I can't say any of this for publication because not only are they incompetent, they're vindictive."

It isn't benevolence that impairs the Postal Service's effectiveness, economists say, just a tired form of economic organization. Only in the last few years, for instance, did it occur to the Postal Service to package and display commemorative stamps. Before this retail innovation, customers had to beg surly clerks to show them stamps, much as Soviet clerks once concealed goods behind the counter and released them or not according to mood.

Serious problems with the U.S. mail are actually one of the factors eroding public resistance to electronic communication today. "People are becoming less willing to listen to the Postal Service's excuses and worries," says Richard Geddes, a Fordham University economist who studies the post. "They're realizing the technology is there to simply bypass the USPS. And that eventually is what will happen."

Runyon dismisses such talk. Volume is surging, he says, and gloomy predictions are as old as the invention of the telegraph.

But by the Postal Service's own calculations, 43 percent of faxes sent today are a substitute for letters. Faxes are not only much faster and more reliable, but cheaper, according to economist Richard B. McKenzie at the University of California at Irvine. Faxing a document of any length across town is virtually free. A stamp costs at least 32 cents.

Even long-distance faxing can be substantially cheaper than the mail, he shows. A two-page document sent at AT&T's most expensive daytime rate costs just 25 cents. Faxing at night or weekend rates, or at special business discounts, is cheaper still. Technology ultimately could replace so much first-class mail that the Postal Service could lose the critical mail mass it needs to sustain itself, Del Polito predicts.

The standard Postal Service response to competitive pressure is to reassert its legal monopoly. Until last spring, it was actually auditing private businesses and fining them, as the antique technicalities of postal law allow, for sending "non-urgent mail" through overnight carriers like UPS. The Postal Service collected $500,000 in fines by claiming that if the recipient waited a day to respond to a letter, the letter was not "urgent" and should have been sent through the mail. After a public outcry, Runyon halted the practice, saying it was bad public relations.

Ironically, the monopoly may be the true source of the post office's problems. The oversight procedures used to protect the public from being taken advantage of under the monopoly produce so much red tape that the Postal Service finds itself hamstrung in operating as a business. It's time to let go of the monopoly, Del Polito argues. "These people have been sucking on this binky so long, it's like looking at a six-year-old kid and saying, 'Kid, you gotta go cold turkey, 'cause you don't need this anymore.' "

A number of overseas posts have begun to do just that. Sweden recently became the first to drop its local postal monopoly. Singapore privatized its post. The British post allows competition on charges over a pound sterling, and plans to sell a 51 percent stake to the public. British postal managers say that unless they privatize, they are headed for a long-term decline that will wipe out thousands of postal jobs.

After going independent in 1989, the Dutch post began building an international mail network with offices in the United States, Canada, Singapore, Thailand, and the United Kingdom. Its prices for door-to-door service are 10 percent lower than competing government posts. It won a contract with China to deliver all that nation's European mail, and its managers are eyeing domestic European mail. President Ad J. Scheepbouwer predicts that within a decade, mail delivery companies will freely compete across national borders. "The barriers will disappear, and people will make up their own minds about how they're going to ship their mail."

Union chief Biller dismisses the idea. European posts are tiny next to the U.S. Postal Service. "You can't compare it," he says. "We're talking 177 billion pieces of mail a year. We carry 60 percent of the world's mail. I can mail a first-class letter from Puerto Rico to Guam to Alaska—vast, vast distances for the same 32 cents."

The conception of the post office as a government-run monopoly was inherited from sixteenth-century England, where the Crown sought to control the post as a way to raise revenue and stem treasonous communication. When the U.S. Constitution was written, it was simply assumed that the government had to run the post in order to bind the far-flung frontiers of the nation. As early as George Washington's days, politicians discovered the benefits of extending

Carolyn Lochhead is a correspondent for the San Francisco Chronicle.

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postal routes, giving special discounts to friends like newspapers, and allowing themselves free postage.

Defenders of the postal monopoly in Congress and elsewhere insist that if the Postal Service were exposed to competition, private firms would just "skim the cream" by taking over profitable, high-density routes in cities and abandoning people in the hinterlands.

But curiously, notes Emory University law professor William Ty Mayton, what moved Congress in the mid-1800s to pass the private express statutes, closing the last loopholes to the monopoly, was the success of one of the post office's most famous competitors—the Pony Express. And the Pony Express did not send its riders galloping through the streets of downtown Boston. It sent them over the most remote and dangerous parts of the wild Western frontier to places the post office failed to serve. Today, private delivery companies still target rural areas. The Postal Service itself contracts out much of its rural delivery, one of the few parts of its operations widely viewed as efficient.

But only the Postal Service goes everywhere, its partisans insist. "That one's a flat out lie," retorts James Rogers, vice president of public affairs for the United Parcel Service. There are actually lots of places where no postperson ever treads, he points out. Unless you live along a road with enough homes to support a rural route, you have to go to the nearest post office to pick up your mail. "In some places in the West, that might be 30 or 40 miles from your ranch," Rogers declares. "Now if UPS has a package for you at that ranch, we'll go out the same road that you use to get there and actually deliver it to you." So will Federal Express, says Doyle Cloud, its vice president for government and regulatory affairs. "If your grandmother lives somewhere on a mountain in Colorado, Federal Express will deliver a package or letter to that address overnight."

Fine, say the Postal Service and defenders, but we will do it for the price of the stamp. A first-class letter, says postal consultant Michael F. Cavanaugh, "will be delivered anywhere in the country, maybe a day or two slower than you would have liked, but very often in a rather fast fashion—not for $10 but for 32 cents. Most Americans see that as a public service." As for the horror stories, Cavanaugh says, "there are horror stories about the jobs consultants like me do, or about newspapers getting stories wrong. There are mistakes made by everybody. But the Postal Service is responsible for delivering hundreds of billions of pieces of mail." Even a 99 percent on-time delivery, he notes, will still mean millions of errors.

Competitors are less sure. "They've got 700,000 people for heaven's sake," says Rogers of UPS, "so they ought to be able to devise systems where they do things correctly. Do I say that UPS never makes a mistake? No. But we don't have a reputation for making mistakes and they do."

And the 32-cent stamp also may be less of a bargain than it seems, especially for mail sent across town. Clearly, economists say, it is the funding source of a massive subsidy to other classes of mail, particularly junk mail. If no private company could deliver letters so cheaply, then the Postal Service shouldn't need its monopoly, Geddes points out.

The 32-cent stamp will support postal worker wages and benefits averaging $42,711 in fiscal year 1993. That pay is 30 to 35 percent higher than private-sector rates for comparable work.

And while personal correspondence may be what average people think of as the mail, it is actually a tiny fraction, some 5 percent, of a total volume that is overwhelmingly business mail. "I don't think many people realize the extent to which the average taxpayer is subsidizing advertising mail," says Geddes, who notes that the Postal Service is $9 billion in debt to the U.S. Treasury.

For the first time since the mid-1970s, the postal monopoly will soon come under legal challenge. A litigation fund is being set up by Phillip Miller, chief executive of Alternate Postal Delivery in Grand Rapids, Michigan, which delivers magazines, catalogues, and samples door-to-door. APD hopes to become to second- and third-class mail what Federal Express is for overnight delivery and United Parcel Service is for packages. "There is no question that a critical juncture is coming up and everyone is looking at how to skirt the post office," Miller says. Experience with private delivery is now so widespread that he believes public attitudes have undergone a tectonic shift.

Competitors also believe that real reform can come only with competition, not with the arrival of a new messiah as postmaster general every few years. Without competition, says Federal Express's Cloud, "you really have no incentive whatsoever to do the creative thinking and implement the innovative ideas that come in a competitive environment." Whether the postal monopoly is eroded by technology or overturned in court, the time will come, Cloud predicts, "when the Postal Service will have to step up to the plate and provide the best possible service, or private companies will unquestionably take that opportunity and run with it."

Like the blossoming of innovation in telephone service that took place after the breakup of the AT&T monopoly, mail service could improve in ways impossible to predict now. "Once you get beyond the belief that the letter mail monopoly is sacrosanct," says Del Polito, "you can brainstorm your way to a zillion alternative solutions."

About a dozen years ago, I heard James Miller tell a story....Someone goes to Macy's in Times Square on a Saturday before the holidays and encounters a mob scene. After a long wait in line to pay for his parcel the shopper says to the cashier, "My gosh, I haven't been here in years. Is it always like this?" The cashier responds, "Oh no, sir. This is the best Saturday we've had in years." The man then takes the parcel across the street to the post office to mail it. There he encounters another mob scene. After again waiting in a long line, he asks the clerk, "Is it always like this on a Saturday?" The clerk says, "Oh no, sir, this is the worst Saturday we have had in years."

—Douglas H. Ginsburg in *Governing the Postal Service*, edited by J. Gregory Sidak, The AEI Press, 1994.

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the Environmental Economist

Green Eyeshades

Environmentalism encounters economic reality

by Rick Henderson

Quite suddenly and unexpectedly, the political movement for ever-more-extensive environmental controls is on the ropes. Attempts to expand environmental strictures have recently been halted by fresh political and legal challenges. Major items on the environmentalist agenda—extension of the Superfund bill, Endangered Species Act, and Clean Water Act, for instance—have stalled. The bill to elevate the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to cabinet-level status has been pulled by its congressional sponsors. The Sierra Club is actually teetering toward bankruptcy. Activists are in retreat.

What's going on? In a nutshell: the bills are coming due. After more than two decades of basically unrestrained growth, a new movement is afoot to control environmental costs, to balance them more scientifically against benefits, and to make sure that particular individuals and localities don't get unfairly stuck paying for other people's environmental niceties. The hard reality of the green eyeshade is descending on Green land.

In April 1994, a prime-time ABC News broadcast hosted by John Stossel asked Americans, "Are We Scaring Ourselves to Death?" Stossel's report, which was the most-watched program in its time slot, cited overblown scares about asbestos, panic over pesticide exposure, and the exorbitant costs of hazardous waste cleanups to suggest that our fears are often unrelated to the actual environmental risks we face. "We've been told by politicians and the media that there's danger everywhere and it's all getting worse," Stossel observed, but "it just isn't true." While "there are real risks to worry about, we, for the most part, are worrying about the wrong ones."

Risk analysts, economists, and even some environmentalists agree that the estimated $150 billion Americans pay each year for environmental protection isn't well spent. While risk assessment is often more an art than an exact science, the notion that Americans can afford to live risk-free is being strongly questioned. Many elected officials have begun searching for ways to get more bang for our environmental buck. Some are beginning to insist that the EPA and other agencies balance risks more carefully against costs, a move that could revolutionize environmental regulation in the future.

Quite suddenly and unexpectedly, the political movement for ever-more-extensive environmental controls is on the ropes. A new movement is afoot to control environmental costs, balance them more scientifically against benefits, and make sure that particular individuals and localities don't get unfairly stuck paying for other people's environmental niceties.

Most activist groups are desperately afraid of measures that would bring more rationality to environmental policy. They would generally prefer to keep the expensive, ineffective laws they've already forced onto the books. But cracks are beginning to appear in this hidebound mentality.

In September, the U.S. Environmental Working Group, a Washington-based research organization, released its 1994 review of the Environmental Protection Agency. Predictably enough, the authors argue that "a major funding increase" for environmental regulation "is imperative." The details recommend that Congress spend $4.7 billion more on environmental protection than the $7.2 billion in the Clinton administration's 1995 EPA budget.

But the group also acknowledges that the EPA hasn't spent its budget on the right things. It points out that the agency spent 70 percent of its 1994 budget on environmental problems that the EPA's own Science Advisory Board says cause low or indeterminate risks to human health.

For instance, a full 56 percent of the EPA budget is either used to clean up Superfund hazardous-waste sites or sent to state authorities to reduce water pollution caused by factories. This pattern of spending isn't surprising when you consider that a Roper organization poll places toxic dumps and water pollution as the first- and third-ranking envi-

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ronmental problems that the general public worries about. EPA scientists, however, acknowledge that these problems pose comparatively low risks to human health.

Risk analysts in universities also find serious problems with current environmental spending priorities. In July, the Harvard Center for Risk Analysis issued a major study of "Five Hundred Life-Saving Interventions and Their Cost-Effectiveness." The Harvard analysts ranked the estimated effect of 587 different controls on toxic substances, medical treatments, and other methods of reducing fatal injuries. The researchers calculated how much each measure cost per "life-year saved," and found that of the five regulatory agencies covered by the survey, the EPA's were by far the least effective. On average, EPA regulations cost $7,629,000 for each life-year saved—87 times higher than the next most expensive agency, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

The Harvard report also reflected the ways in which environmental regulations have different costs under varying situations. For instance, banning asbestos in drum-brake linings cost an estimated $13,487 per life-year saved; banning asbestos in disk-brake pads cost $217,854. Controlling benzene emissions at pharmaceutical plants would cost $456,556; controlling benzene at rubber tire plants would cost $19,865,000.

EPA Administrator Carol Browner admits that her agency could spend its cleanup dollars more effectively. In part, she blames both Congress for writing regulations that are difficult to comply with and advocacy groups that constantly sue the EPA to spend more on specific problems. In September of 1993, she told the *Wall Street Journal* that the cost of complying with lawsuits consumes fully 20 percent of the EPA's air-quality budget. "The litigation is essentially setting the priorities," Browner said. Likewise, one-third of Superfund money pays legal fees or other administrative costs rather than cleaning up toxic dumps.

Exorbitant environmental costs often result from what Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer has called the problem of "the last 10 percent." In his 1993 book *Breaking the Vicious Circle,* Breyer pointed out that many federal environmental regulations require businesses and individual taxpayers to pay huge amounts to remove the last few bits of contamination without notably improving health or safety.

He cited the case of *U.S. v. Ottati & Goss,* involving a waste dump in New Hampshire. After the site was mostly cleaned up, the last company in litigation settled the suit for an additional $9.3 million. Before that $9.3 million was spent, court records indicated that the waste dump was already clean enough for children playing on the site to eat small amounts of dirt each day for 70 years without any significant harm. Burning the soil would have let children eat dirt safely for 245 days a year. But there weren't any dirt-eating children there: It was a swamp. While the company spent $9.3 million, the area's health and safety weren't improved at all.

Risk analysts, economists, and even some environmentalists agree that the estimated $150 billion Americans pay each year for environmental protection isn't well spent. The EPA spent 70 percent of its 1994 budget on environmental problems that cause low or indeterminate risks to human health.

To inject more balance into the process, Breyer suggests having groups of independent experts set priorities for environmental cleanups. But Reason Foundation Vice President Lynn Scarlett argues that since environmental issues are often inherently political, they won't always be amenable to dispassionate resolution by a group of experts sitting in a room. As messy as the legislative process is, it may often be the only satisfactory way to adjudicate environmental conflicts.

Environmental advocates rarely acknowledge the necessity of setting cleanup priorities or of leaving "the last little bit" of contamination in place. Toxicologist Ellen Silbergeld of the Environmental Defense Fund, a member of the EPA's Science Advisory Board, has called the process of ranking risks "stupid." The "EPA spends too much time prioritizing and not enough time doing things," she told the *Wall Street Journal.* The implication being that all things that are "bad" in any way must be attacked, full-throttle, all at the same time.

In these days of exaggerated environmental fears and perpetual $200 billion federal deficits, that attitude is a recipe for gridlock—which approximates what has descended on the EPA. In the absence of discipline from within the environmentalist hive, new forces are beginning to impose discipline from outside. Public officials are beginning to recognize that there are limits on the amount of tax dollars they can dedicate to environmental cleanups. There is growing recognition that money spent by companies cleaning up "the last 10 percent" is not available to build new factories (which are cleaner and more efficient) or to hire new employees.

The result, horror-stricken environmental advocates and their allies in Congress are finding, is a growing bloc of lawmakers who want to require regulators to account for the costs of their environmental rules. These cost-conscious lawmakers are having an impact:

• In February, the House of Representatives considered making the Environmental Protection Agency part of the cabinet. Florida Representatives John Mica (R) and Karen Thurman (D) proposed an amendment to the bill that would subject any new EPA regulations

Rick Henderson is Washington editor of Reason *magazine.*

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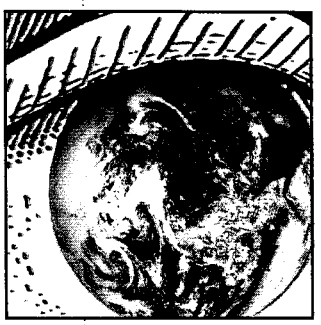
to risk assessments and cost-benefit analyses. When it appeared that the Mica-Thurman amendment would pass, panicked supporters of the EPA-cabinet bill pulled it from consideration.

◦ In May, when the Senate reauthorized the 1974 Safe Drinking Water Act, it included an amendment sponsored by Senator Bennett Johnston (D-La.) requiring the EPA to conduct cost-benefit analyses on any new regulation (affecting drinking water or anything else) that costs more than $100 million. The House version of the bill did not include the Johnston amendment; the bill died at the end of the session before it reached a vote.

◦ In September, Mica attempted to attach a cost-benefit amendment to the bill reauthorizing the 1980 Superfund Act. Environmentalists were so worried they convinced the leaders of the House Rules Committee to delay the reauthorization, killing it for that Congress.

In pursuing this bill-snuffing strategy, Beltway-based environmental groups seem to have accepted environmental stasis as preferable to any alternative that would moderate existing Green laws. The proposed cost-benefit requirements are but one part of what environmentalists call an "unholy trinity" of responses that threaten to rein in aggressive environmental regulation. The two other parts of the "trinity" are political moves to limit unfunded federal mandates on state and local governments, and measures to require "takings" compensations that reimburse private landowners when regulations reduce the value of their property.

If they can't guarantee new environmental laws more draconian than the versions currently on the books, the leaders of powerful groups like the Sierra Club and the Environmental Defense Fund have apparently decided they'll resort instead to keeping new laws from being considered. But the inability of Green activists to keep "unholy" amendments out of even their pet legislative bills shows that environmentalists are no longer in the driver's seat in the way that they were as recently as three or four years ago. Environmentalists can't even count on killing measures they don't like. In July, for instance, the House passed a takings amendment to the California Desert Protection Act that was sponsored by Representative Billy Tauzin (D-La.). It protects the owners of the California land in question from a loss of property value due to discovery of threatened or endangered species on their acreage. Passage of the amendment by a margin of 281–148 so shocked environmentalists that the bill was removed from consideration and held until the very end of the session in the hope Tauzin's amendment could be stripped out. The bill, with Tauzin's amendment intact, passed the Senate on the last day of the session.



THE DAYS WHEN ENVIRONMENTALISTS COULD STEAMROLL THROUGH CONGRESS ANY MEASURE THEY WANTED HAVE PASSED. SOMEDAY, GREEN ACTIVISTS MAY LOOK BACK ON THE 103RD CONGRESS AS THEIR SALAD DAYS.

Lawmakers who want to force regulators to recognize trade-offs are doing more than just amending the environmental establishments laws. They're also sponsoring stand-alone bills. For the past three years, Representative Jimmy Hayes (D-La.) has proposed a wetlands bill that would force federal regulators to classify wetlands by their environmental value, exclude existing farmland from wetlands restrictions, and concentrate preservation efforts only on property that has true ecological value.

Tauzin has also introduced a property-rights bill that would define as a taking any regulation under the Endangered Species Act or the wetlands provision of the Clean Water Act that reduces the value of a property owner's land by more than 50 percent. And Senator Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) has introduced a bill that would define a taking as having occurred when any new regulation "restricts, limits, or otherwise infringes a right to real property than would otherwise exist." Environmentalist Democrats have blocked these efforts. But since Republicans have gained control of the 104th Congress, these bills may get a full hearing on Capitol Hill.

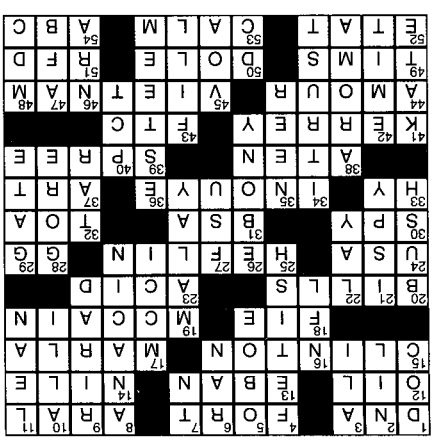
The days when environmentalists could steamroll through Congress any measure they wanted have passed. As Sierra Club Executive Director Carl Pope recently complained to *Congressional Quarterly*, "These issues [the unholy trinity] have managed to slow us down and weaken laws and get in the way" of ever-more restrictive environmental laws.

Someday, Green activists may look back on the 103rd Congress as their salad days. Certainly common-sense reformers like Mica, Gramm, Hayes, and Tauzin believe they are gaining the upper hand. As Mica told *Congressional Quarterly* not long ago, "I want to stick around and make life miserable for those people who don't take time to think around here."

❧

Answers to Biograph

(see puzzle page 112)



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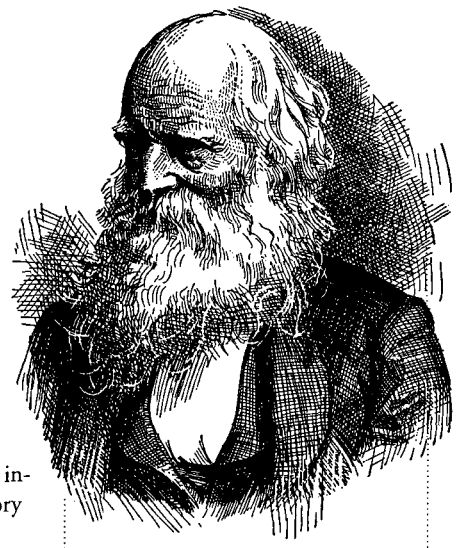
Flashback

TO KNOW NOTHING OF WHAT HAPPENED BEFORE YOU WERE BORN IS TO REMAIN EVER A CHILD—*Cicero*

On Poets and Trade



Once upon a time in America poets engaged in public discourse and sought ambassadorships instead of NEA grants. Walt Whitman's lodestar was free trade, John Greenleaf Whittier's was abolition, and James Russell Lowell's the prosier civil service reform. But it was a child who led them.

In 1808, in the hills of western Massachusetts, there lived a 13-year-old boy who had never been beyond Hampshire County. His name was William Cullen Bryant; his father, a physician, served in the state legislature as an arch-Federalist and enemy of all things Jeffersonian. Cullen read by firelight the contents of his father's library: Pope's *Iliad,* devotional verse, and the Federalist papers—the newspapers, that is, packed with partisan vitriol.

Bryant was the most precocious adolescent in the history of American letters. He was a frail, nervous lad, prone to headaches, who, had he been born into our century, would've immediately been sent to right field by his playmates. While other children frolicked "'neath yon crimson tree," Cullen stewed over the hated Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807, which forbade commerce with warring England and France. Though the president was responding to British depredations on the high seas, Federalist New England (and such Southern radicals as John Randolph) feared the suffocating economic effects of this autarkic measure. Ultimately, the embargo was followed by war, as embargoes are wont to be.

Most fathers of American poets have disdained their sons' callings as disreputable, unmanly, and foolishly improvident; Dr. Bryant did not. So impressed was he with Cullen's rhymes that in February 1808 he secured the Boston publication of *The Embargo, or Sketches of the Times, A Satire by a Youth of Thirteen.* Its 244 lines took up 12 pages and sold—quite well—for 25 cents a copy.

Young Bryant's muse was not love, music, or beauty, but, amazingly, free trade. The poet sings of "commerce" as "the blessing of mankind." But then along comes Jefferson, whose embargo is the

curse of our nation,
source of countless woes,
From whose dark womb
unreckon'd misery flows.

The cessation of trade desolates a nation, laments Bryant. The "bold Sailor from the ocean torn" cannot feed his "starving children." The farmer, "since supporting trade is fled...cheerless hangs his head" while "debts follow debts, on taxes, taxes pour." Laborers fare no better:

In vain Mechanics ply
their curious art,
And bootless mourn
the interdicted mart.

All this gloom is the fault of a meddling president who "wisely regulating trade—destroys." The callow poet at last works himself into a frenzy, spitting at Jefferson, "Go, wretch, resign the presidential chair," and

...scan, Philosophist,
thy ****** charms
And sink supinely
in her sable arms.

The ellipses here refer to Sally Hemings, the beautiful quadroon slave whom Jefferson's opponents alleged to be his concubine. Bryant's retailing of this roorback (entombed for decades with Warren G. Harding's Negro blood and James Buchanan's affair with Senator William R. D. King) snaked into Fawn Brodie's 1974 Jefferson psychobiography, which in turn inspired the new Merchant-Ivory soap about when Tom met Sally.

That a lad of so tender an age wrote such competently venomous verse inspired wonder: one critic foresaw for Bryant "a respectable station on the Parnassian mount" once he reached shaving age. "Tell Cullen his poem is very much admired in Boston," Bryant *père* wrote home from the legislature. Heady from the scent of laurel, Cullen expanded his poem, and Dr. Bryant secured publication of a revised edition in February 1809.

"The Embargo" led to puberty—and then fame, when in 1817 Cullen's snooping father discovered a sheaf of poems buried in a desk and sent them to *The North American Review.* "Thanatopsis," a meditation on death composed when Cullen was 17 became the most celebrated American poem of its era. (It still bedevils schoolkids in old American towns.)

Concluding that "poetry and starvation" are twins, William Cullen Bryant forsook his place as the bard of the Berkshires for New York City—where for almost 50 years he was editor and part-owner of the *Evening Post.* (From "Thanatopsis" to "Headless Body Found in Topless Bar" is a frightful plunge.) The *Evening Post*'s general doctrine was strongly Jeffersonian, and Bryant came to rue his intemperate poem. Parke Godwin, his son-in-law and biographer, related, "I once asked him if he had a copy of 'The Embargo.' 'No,' he answered testily; 'why should I keep such stuff as that?' "

Bryant may have regretted his irascibility, but his principles remained constant. In his seventies, approaching his old friend Thanatos, he was president of the Free-Trade League. Like his comrade Whitman, who insisted that "tariff taffy gives me the belly-ache," Bryant always regarded free trade as "the natural workings of this beneficent system of Providence."

Upon Bryant's death in 1878 he was eulogized as America's foremost editorial champion of the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson. The few who recalled "The Embargo" pardoned Bryant his youthful pumpkin-smashing.

And besides, it was only poetry.

—Bill Kauffman

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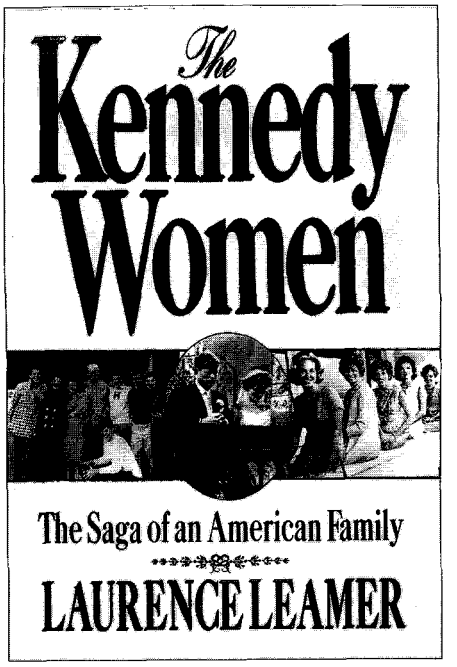
BookTalk



Tough Colleens

By Florence King

The Kennedy Women
By Laurence Leamer
(New York: Villard) 933 pages, $27.50

A better title for this book might be "The Search for Bridget Murphy," for such was the name of the real founder of the Kennedy fortune. She emigrated from the land of old maids in 1849 at the age of 28 and probably would have died on the vine had she not met 26-year-old Patrick Kennedy on the boat. He married her immediately—*obediently* might be more to the point, for he seems to have been a classic cipher who did not come to his wife's attention until he died in 1858 and left her with four children to support.

How Bridget did it is shrouded in mystery and shot through with intimations of...something. She worked for a time as a maid in a Brahmin home, following that with a job as a saleswoman in a notions store. But then, all of a sudden, she owned the store. Next, she expanded it into a grocery store, and soon thereafter she bought the whole building. She was known in Irish Boston as "the Widow Kennedy," which could have been the nom de guerre of a madam, but the author thinks she sold whiskey (a calling followed by her son, P. J. Kennedy). Where her original stake came from, however, or the names of possible benefactors, are nowhere to be found: Leamer admits her trail ran cold.

The author of several biographies including *Make Believe: The Story of Nancy and Ronald Reagan,* Leamer has produced something more than just another Kennedy book. What sets this one apart is his deftly handled theme of "social heredity"—a less remote form of race memory—with which he traces what we today regard as classic Kennedy behavior to small but telling details of nineteenth-century Boston Irish life that other biographers have ignored.

His best find is an advice column from an 1890s issue of the diocesan newspaper, *The Pilot,* that anticipates the tireless Kennedy girls in all their intense glory, running around the country holding campaign teas for JFK:

"Look at that boy, whose sisters have made home happy, who have been his companions, his playmates and friends—and who count upon his return from school...and are always waiting round him with offers of love....Look at such a one in the progress of life, at college, in the world, and see the difference between him, and the boy who has no sister's love to cheer him...."

The sister-as-handmaiden combined with the Irish penchant for celibacy nearly resulted in a bevy of spinsters. "Except for Bobby, the Kennedys found it difficult to marry," especially Jean, who told the author: "We all had such a good time that we didn't really want to marry." Pat, wife of actor Peter Lawford, introduced JFK to the tawdry world of Las Vegas and the Rat Pack. "Pat would do almost anything to help her brother reach the White House. If that included providing Jack R and R by helping to set him up with women, that was fine. She had no idea that partially through her good services, her brother was sharing the affections of [Judith] Campbell with one of the most powerful criminals in America."

Eunice waited until age 31 to marry R. Sargent Shriver, innocently telling her wedding guests, "I found a man who is as much like my father as possible." Supposedly the most intelligent Kennedy, Eunice is also the most deficient in insight and introspection, as the author discovered when she told him about the time she was a social worker at a home for wayward girls: "They were all sexually abused. The ones that I got along with very well were pregnant from their own fathers. I had a feeling for them, and I helped them."

Leamer is careful to insert the requisite male-feminist statements along the way but he has a lot of fun at Eunice's expense, portraying her as a married old maid with "the metabolism of a hummingbird," a souped-up Eleanor Roosevelt whose commitment to do-gooding frequently spills over into hysteria. She is at her shrill worst when discussing mental retardation, as in her impassioned 1963 speech "pillorying the federal government for not hiring any individuals with cognitive disability." Some of us would argue with that, but Eunice had statistics. Pointing to the 200,000 handicapped hired, she stated firmly: "There is no record of the employment of a single mentally retarded man or woman."

When Eunice's husband was named ambassador to intellect-worshipping France, a French secretary at the embassy reflected in puzzled tones: "If you're not mentally retarded, you can't even get invited to this embassy. You have got to be

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mentally retarded to get any real attention from this ambassadress."

Eunice's obsession goes back to her retarded sister Rosemary, whose 1941 lobotomy the author describes in a riveting passage. A new operation at the time, it was not the quick icepick jab that it later became, but a scooping process with a spatula-like instrument while the patient was anesthetized with Novocaine.

"The doctors kept talking to Rosemary, getting her to sing or count. When the patient became sleepy and disoriented, the doctors could tell that the operation was working. As long as she continued to sing out and to add and subtract, the doctors kept cutting away, destroying a larger and larger area of the brain."

The main character in this book that often turns into a novel is Rose Kennedy, "going through life fluffing up reality like a sofa pillow." Leamer faults her for withholding the physical affection that early twentieth-century child-raising experts believed weakened the character, but his chronicle of her austere self-containment makes highly satisfying reading in our unbuttoned age.

Rigid and cold she may have been, but she also believed that "punctuality was a sign of moral character" and had such a highly developed sense of the seemly that she called her own son "Mr. President." She was trained in sexual frigidity by the nuns who made her wear a "bath dress," but she also enjoyed the confidence and safety, unknown today, of coming to womanhood in a country still ruled by common sense, where the influential Jesuit magazine, *America,* could state in a 1912 editorial that she probably read: "If women stir up the volcano of man's lower nature, they must expect to suffer by the ensuing eruption."

Her finest hour comes when Leamer gets to her granddaughters, a clutch of interchangeable yuppies with law degrees and boring problems. Rose always said that childbirth was "something the woman had to do and the less bother she gave to anybody else including her husband, the better." When we compare this to the saga of Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, whose husband delivered their baby, biting the amniotic sac with his teeth and then burying the placenta under a piñon tree after the Indian custom, Irish Catholic repression begins to look good.

Florence King writes "The Misanthrope's Corner" column for National Review. *Her anthology,* The Florence King Reader, *will be published by St. Martin's in early 1995.*

Wild Sam

By George Garrett

"If They Move...Kill 'Em!": The Life and Times of Sam Peckinpah
By David Weddle (New York: Grove Press)
578 pages, $27.50

The responsibility for a film, to whom one must ascribe praise or blame, has long been an open question. Moviemaking is at once a corporate and hierarchical craft, sometimes aiming to be art. The French logically settled the problem by announcing the *Auteur* theory, which makes the director the most important artist involved. This was and is convenient, but ignores the real, if sometimes shadowy, presence of the people with the checkbooks, the producers, employers, and investors. With a few special exceptions they always have the first word and the last. The director, *Auteur* or not, almost always works for them. But never mind the excessive claims and the assertive naiveté of the theory, it is nevertheless clearly the case that, at least during the production stage of moviemaking, the director is the big boss. His job may often be more like that of a circus animal trainer than a corporate executive, and once the process enters the minefield of postproduction, the director's power and glory are more or less negotiable.

It is a kind of minor miracle that, come what may, the best directors have somehow managed to create and sustain an unmistakable, individual style. This is all the more so since the form, itself locked into place since the second decade of this century, changing little except for the coming of sound (which Hitchcock viewed as merely adding what was already implied and imagined in silent pictures) and certain purely technical developments (engineering), has essentially required all filmmakers to play the same

game with the same basic shuffled deck of cards. Meaning, among other things, that since about 1919, film has been a self-reflexive form feeding upon itself. Even at its most original, an innovative film is mostly a rearrangement of given (tried and true) elements.

Faced with this kind of challenge and limitation, Sam Peckinpah managed to create a significant number of motion pictures which, in sum and in their discrete parts, are recognizably his own. Peckinpah's films are appreciated by the public and have profoundly influenced many of the directors and filmmakers who have come along after him. On the strength of that achievement alone, Peckinpah would be worth a full-scale critical biography; and when you factor in some of the details of his colorful life—booze, dope, love affairs, several marriages, and constant and savage battles with the checkbook people in order to do his work in his own way—you have, from the point of view of biographer and publisher, an almost irresistible subject: the director as romantic hero.

There have been a good number of earlier books about Peckinpah and his work, and David Weddle cites two of them—Paul Seydor's *Peckinpah: The Western Films* and *Peckinpah: A Portrait in Montage* by Garner Simmons—as influencing his own work "in countless ways." To what is known and has been done

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Weddle adds the results of more than 500 hours of interviews and an intense exploration of the Samuel Peckinpah Collection at the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, which contains "every production file, screenplay, and scrap of professional and personal correspondence that Peckinpah accumulated over his 59 years." In a sense this is the first surprise of the book—that Peckinpah, whose life was so chaotic and disorderly and who loved to work improvisationally, should have carefully kept all his papers for posterity. Weddle's free hand with this material, together with his acknowledgement—"I will never find enough words to express my gratitude to the Peckinpah family"—identify the portrait clearly as an "authorized" biography.

Weddle opens his study with a "Prologue," dealing with the first showing of Peckinpah's masterpiece, *The Wild Bunch*, at the Royal Theater in Kansas City on May 1, 1969. Weddle first establishes his point of view, and then details the background, life, and work of David Samuel Peckinpah, from birth in 1925 to his death on December 28, 1984. On the whole Weddle's writing is workmanlike and accessible. The author does not get in the reader's way much, allowing for occasional exceptions like: "Like traumatic visions from our collective unconscious, his films keep springing back at us, sinking their teeth in, refusing to let go." The information is detailed and helpful. The author's critical views are overt, up-front, and in large part persuasive.

For someone like myself, familiar with most of Peckinpah's pictures but knowing very little about his life, there are genuine surprises. His well-to-do, old California family (such a different background from his peers in "the Industry") took me by surprise and gave a different spin to some of his known gestures as, for example, his running off from home and joining the Marine Corps. All directors start somewhere in the business, but that Peckinpah began as an actor and a writer and moved up to films through the fire and ice of television was news and a little unusual. Most people never manage to escape from television. Peckinpah, in fact, went back and forth; and, indeed, one of his final pieces of work was directing music videos for Julian Lennon. It appears that a lot of his money, such as it was, came from the television years, in the form of residuals from shows like *The Rifleman* and *The Westerner*. I am also surprised at how little he made, in a relative sense, directing feature films; and the hard facts about the earnings of his films, most of which were popular if never really in the "blockbuster" category, are also surprising. Peckinpah had his share of Hollywood fun and hijinks, but he also had a hard row to hoe. Putting together his pictures was never easy. It was also a surprise to me that he was a small man. One of his friends is quoted: "By God, he was a scrappy little guy. The man was a fighter." He had plenty of fights and plenty to fight about just getting his pictures made the way he wanted and trying to preserve his vision and versions. Weddle points out that it is still impossible to see Peckinpah's own versions of *The Wild Bunch* and *Pat Garrett and Billy the Kid*.

Weddle does an excellent job of presenting Peckinpah's films in order, explaining what is new and different about each, following the process of creation from beginning to end, and summarizing the critical reaction as well as the relative box office success or failure. He does a particularly noteworthy job on *The Wild Bunch, Ride the High Country, The Cincinnati Kid, The Ballad of Cable Hogue,* and *Straw Dogs*. Some Peckinpah fans may feel that Weddle underrates others, including *The Getaway* and *Bring Me the Head of Alfredo Garcia*. ("Even the shootouts lacked energy, the precision of the shots and the editing had gone slack, the intercutting of slow and fast motion was a pale imitation of the glory days.") But those are judgment calls. Finally, Weddle is surprisingly good on the historical context of the films. For the most part he is on the money, though I question calling World War II "the Good War," which is too recent, as a concept and a phrase, to be honestly contextual. And his occasional efforts to make Peckinpah into a liberal-in-good-standing are not so much implausible as irrelevant.

George Garrett has written more than 25 books, most recently The Old Army Game *(S.M.U. Press).*

Off the Shelf

A REGULAR REVIEW OF CLASSIC, OVERLOOKED, NEWLY RELEVANT OR OTHERWISE DESERVING OLDER BOOKS

Congressman: Go Home

By Barber B. Conable, Jr.

In 1978 Richard F. Fenno, Jr., the well-known political scientist at the University of Rochester, completed his analysis of "House Members in Their Districts" in a book called *Home Style*. From 1970 until 1977 he had traveled extensively with members of the House of Representatives when they returned from Washington to their districts, and had observed with acuity their varying perceptions of their home constituencies.

Previously, Professor Fenno had established his credibility with the political science community by analyzing the work of Congress, particularly in *The Power of the Purse*, a much admired and imitated book about the House Appropriations Committee. In *Home Style*, his thesis that representative government could not be fully understood without observing the rituals of representation at home was not daring, but had been much neglected by Washington-oriented students of government. Anyone who reads this wise, unpretentious little book is bound to respect Professor Fenno's objectivity, his thoughtfulness, and his conclusions about the necessary diversity of the representative process.

He gave anonymity to his subjects, but the book is an unblinking document about representational technique. Conversations are reported in such detail that one suspects he must have almost interposed himself between the congressman

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and the confronted constituent. As one of the congressmen he followed home and observed, I can testify to Professor Fenno's unobtrusiveness and relaxed manner. On a Saturday morning I took him to the local hardware store and introduced him to my "personal constituency," the inner ring of my "primary constituency," a group of personal friends who weekly kept me in touch with local developments so that I wouldn't become afflicted with rootlessness. My friends were surprised by his quietness—and later surprised to be memorialized in his book as an important element in my home contact.

Revisit the book: this is a time in our political history when Americans would be reassured to read it. The House of Representatives has not changed much since the midseventies, and doubtless Professor Fenno would come to many of the same conclusions now if he were to repeat his odyssey to the various home fronts of his congressmen. But today's congressmen are not happy, and neither are their constituents, thanks to the virtual collapse of public trust in representative government. Impasse, polarization, and cynicism have taken their toll, and term limitation threatens to make representative labor a fleeting rather than a protracted interface between the diversity of the geographic district and the personality projections of the congressman. Regardless of what happens constitutionally to term-limitation efforts, the House is being remade: more than half the members who will take the oath of office in January 1995 were first elected no earlier than 1990.

With the size of most congressional districts now approaching 600,000 people, representation will be that of strangers and novices. As in the past, new representatives will doubtless try hard: *Home Style* demonstrates clearly that even the elderly, the senior, and the congressman from the remote state make much greater effort in representational work than the public generally gives them credit for doing. The processes Professor Fenno describes won't change, but rapid turnover of members will inject new uncertainties, new reasons to doubt that the folks back home, and not the special interests from outside the district, are the arbiters of representation. Long-timers are more comfortable or they don't become long-timers.

No matter how much the House of Representatives changes, the large degree of personal judgment used by the member will still have to be as Professor Fenno describes it. Legislation isn't getting any simpler, nor is the public's understanding of the issues growing with the increased traffic on the information highway. Perhaps the burden of explanation will continue to grow, but the ordering of issues, the balancing of interests, and the need to measure the long-term against the short-term consequence will still force the representative to exercise a defensible judgment rather than mindlessly respond to oversimplified polls.

Home Style, at least to one who spent 20 years in the House, is a description of the legitimacy of the representational process. As described, it is a tough job. The representative usually emerges, after Fenno's careful scrutiny, as a reasonably bright person, and as different from his colleagues as the congressional districts are from each other. Today's disillusioned American, pondering the system and its failings, would do well to ask himself or herself the question, "What would work better?"

Barber B. Conable, Jr., retired president of the World Bank, served 10 terms as a congressman from Upstate New York.

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Nixon's Ghost

By Eugene J. McCarthy

Nixon Reconsidered
By Joan Hoff
(New York: BasicBooks) 475 pages, $30.00

Richard Nixon, after his resignation from the presidency, would not let us forget him. He kept coming back quite regularly with a new book. He was unlike Enoch Arden, who after being lost at sea returned to his home, and then, after looking through a window and seeing the happy state of his former wife and children with her new husband, turned away and went back to the sea. Nixon, had he been in Enoch's place, would have tapped on the window until noticed, and then fled, only to return occasionally to tap on the window again, or scratch on the door, to remind those in the house that he was outside, lonely, misunderstood, and suffering.

Now that he is dead, his former supporters, and many of his critics, seem dedicated to presenting him as misunderstood and misrepresented, to the point that one observer of the eulogies at the time of the Nixon funeral suggested that perhaps there should be an investigation to determine whether there had been a case of mistaken identity.

Nixon Reconsidered is largely a running report on the Nixon years in the White House, supplemented by some information drawn from documents and reports released under the Freedom of Information Act, which added little to what was already known about the operations of the Nixon administration.

The tone of the book suggests that its author, Joan Hoff, is friendly to Nixon. Nonetheless, the reporting of facts is objective and unprejudiced. No "New Nixon" emerges from the text.

It is my opinion, after observing politicians in campaigns, and in office, that conduct in office, even in higher office, will not be much different from conduct in campaigns. I knew of Nixon's campaign against Jerry Voorhis, a communist-baiting venture. My first sight of Richard Nixon was in 1949 when he and I were members of the House of Representatives. He was running for the Senate against Helen Douglas, in a campaign in which

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she was labeled "The Pink Lady" and in which the number of times she had voted with radical Congressman Vito Marcantonio was emphasized. (Marcantonio regularly voted with the Democratic majority.)

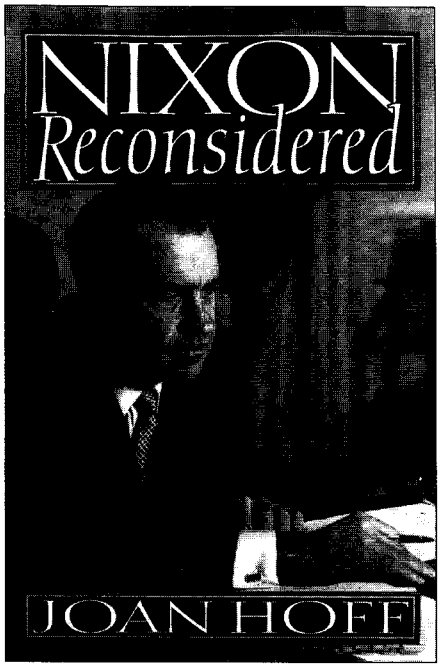
Nixon on this day seemed euphoric as he entered the chamber. He began to make a kind of triumphal round among Republican members, smiling and shaking hands enthusiastically. Some Democrats crossed the aisle to greet him. He seemed ecstatic and was, as I discovered, since he was carrying word of the perjury conviction of Alger Hiss. The "soft on communism" issue that had served him well in the Voorhis campaign seemed to work again against Helen Douglas, and was to be his supplemental weapon as Eisenhower's anticommunist vice-presidential running mate.

The Nixon of this book, if read with some care, is not very different from the Nixon of the Haldeman diaries, or the Nixon as known without the documentary support of either of these books. The book shows a president who was unsure, suspicious, self-pitying, and inclined to use—when under pressure or when he felt threatened—the methods that had served him well along his political trail, and which he had resorted to in his 1972 presidential campaign, even when he appeared to be in no danger of being defeated. Watergate was one demonstration of this habit of response. But a more serious application was that which was manifest in the "enemies list" and project.

As the latter William F. Buckley, Jr., wrote: "Dean's memorandum was an act of proto-fascism. It is altogether ruthless in its dismissal of human rights. It is fascist in its reliance on the state as the instrument of harassment. It is fascist in its automatic assumption that the state in all matters comes before the right of the individual." Buckley concluded, "It is far and away the most hideous document to have come out of the Watergate investigation."

There was in Watergate and the enemies list project strong evidence of the Thomas à Becket Syndrome, in which the knights, anticipating the wishes of the king, murder the archbishop. Nixon's role was comparable to that which the French philosopher Charles Péguy, who died in 1917, attributed to the Germans of his time, namely "to reveal the mind of evil before it had the capacity to achieve its objectives."

Richard Nixon would have been, I believe, an acceptable, even a good, prime minister under a parliamentary system,



subject to continuing party discipline and to the restraining force of his cabinet—as well as the imminent possibility of being thrown out of office. The presidency asks for more, and also offers greater temptation to abuse power while seeking to achieve historical status. Nixon clearly sought power. As to the reason for his wanting power, the record is less clear, except in an abstract way: for instance in his disposition to use the adjective "greatest" frequently and indiscriminately.

The Nixon fiscal and economic record, if judged by broad standards, was not good. The national debt rose from approximately $370 billion in 1969 to over $700 billion in 1977. Unemployment in the same period rose from 3.6 percent to over 7 percent, and inflation from 5.4 percent in 1969 to 11 percent in 1974 and 9.1 percent in 1975.

In the years from 1969 to 1972, the years of Nixon-Kissinger foreign policy, over 20,000 Americans died in Southeastern Asia. The war was extended into Laos and Cambodia, and a new word—"incursion"—was introduced into the lexicon of the United States military. Incursion. Until Nixon and Cambodia the United States had never conducted an "incursion," which is not something one does but rather something that happens to one or to a society. There is no verb form for "incursion." One cannot "incurse." An incursion is a kind of happening, an existential experience, without moral fault.

I think Nixon was right in saying that he was more deserving of the Nobel Peace Prize (as he is reported to have said) than was Henry Kissinger—at least in keeping with the current Nobel Peace Prize practices, which appear to award prizes to persons who watch or advance the end of wars which they have advocated, or even directed.

Nixon deserves some credit for accepting the admission of China to the United Nations, after years of opposing such admission, and advancing the SALT I and II proposals to end the production of nuclear arms, already in great excess.

Sir James Frazer, an anthropologist, reported that as late as 1884, in one of Central Africa's kingdoms, when the people had "conceived an opinion of the king's ill government, they sent a deputation to him with a present of parrot's eggs as a mark of its authenticity, to represent to him that the burden of government must [have]so far fatigued him that they considered it full time for him to repose from his cares and indulge himself with a little sleep."

We need a modern, comparable, and civilized ritual to deal with ex-presidents before and after their deaths.

Eugene J. McCarthy, former U.S. senator from Minnesota, is the author of many books, most recently USA: Colony of the World.

We're Off to Slay the Wizard

By John McClaughry

Arrogant Capital: Washington, Wall Street, and the Frustration of American Politics
By Kevin Phillips
(Boston: Little Brown & Co.) 213 pages, $22.95

The title of this latest book from political analyst Kevin Phillips has a rather obvious double meaning. One "arrogant capital" is Washington, D.C., the

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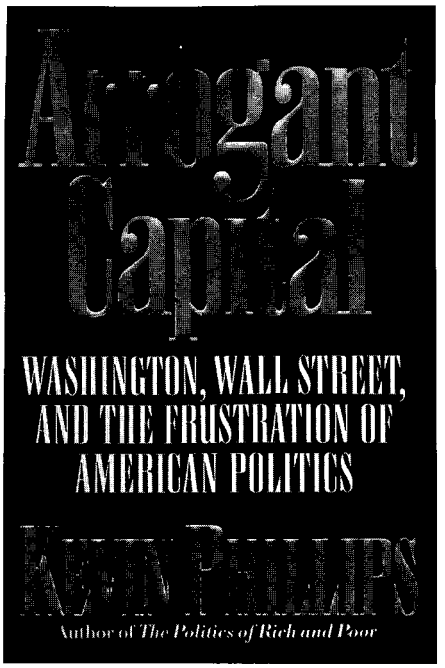
"swollen capital city feeding off the country it should be governing." The other "arrogant capital" is Kapital—finance capital, centered in Wall Street, its greedy tentacles reaching into and corrupting the institutions in the geographical capital. Phillips loathes them both, and particularly the conjunction of the two.

Since the founding of the nation in 1776, Phillips argues, the American system has undergone periodic self-cleansings to give itself a new beginning. These came in 1800 and 1828, when the Jefferson and Jackson revolution smashed the power of the banks; in 1860, when the nation broke apart over the spread of slavery and the North's demand for import protection; in 1896, when Bryan's loss nonetheless initiated the era of populist and progressive reforms; and in 1932, when Franklin D. Roosevelt's election (albeit on a conservative, budget-slashing platform) triggered the New Deal.

The next revolution—in 1968—failed, because the entrenched political elite in Washington had become strong enough to reverse the electoral verdict and thwart Richard Nixon's half-hearted effort to wind down the Great Society. This time American politics failed to cleanse itself. The turning point had been passed. The nation began its steady and inevitable decline.

Now, Phillips argues, the only way to produce the needed cleansing and revitalization is a "bloodless political revolution" to oust the corrupt, influence-peddling, favor-seeking, lawyer-dominated, bureaucrat-controlled gang of thugs who are preying upon honest working people beyond the Beltway, and destroying America's last hope of competing with the rising, hungry tigers of the Far East.

This call for revolution is not an unfamiliar one in the decade of the 1990s, and indeed, the electorate seems to have responded with considerable enthusiasm in the election of 1994. (One wonders how Phillips would revise this book for a second edition.) Like fellow writer Jonathan Rauch *(Demosclerosis),* he is an angry critic of what American government has become, but he is emphatically no free-marketeer. Phillips wants a nation effectively controlled by a government controlled in turn by those who will look out for a large and faceless group of Americans who are



best defined by those not included, notably lawyers, lobbyists, foreign interests, the service industry, Wall Street, free traders, and the rich generally.

Phillips offers a "Blueprint for a Political Revolution" built upon 10 sets of recommendations.

First, he argues, uproot the capital city. Make Congress meet half the time in Denver. Disperse the agencies (there is no talk about shrinking them) to appropriate places like Des Moines (Agriculture), Salt Lake City (Interior), and Chicago (HUD), far from the concentrated corruption of Washington. Let members of Congress stay home and vote electronically "while official Washington shrivels in the hot democratic sun of the dispersal of power."

Second, begin to merge Congress and the executive branch. For instance, let the chairman of the House or Senate Budget Committee (which?), if of the president's party, be director of the Office of Management and Budget. This, says Phillips, will diminish present conflicts between executive and legislative branches and make for more efficient government.

Third, move toward direct democracy (national referenda) and break open the two-party duopoly by proportional representation by states in elections to a 650-member Congress. Phillips is critical of Democrats for high spending, economic regulation, inflation, and product liability. In a rather desperate attempt to be even-handed, he blames Republicans for moral decline, on the incredible evidence that *Playboy* magazine, Elvis, and a court decision protecting *Lady Chatterley's Lover* appeared during the decadent Eisenhower years.

Fourth, crack down on Washington interest groups, lobbyists, and parasites. Though he rightly doubts its constitutionality, Phillips is partial to levying a 30 percent tax on contributions to political campaigns, to be distributed in some unspecified way to candidates.

Fifth, do something about lawyers (hard to do).

Sixth, revise "oudated state boundaries," drastically reduce the number of substate political jurisdictions, and provide uniform fiscal resources per capita through the national government's tax collection capacity. Phillips does not like the idea of diversity and competition among political jurisdictions because it makes them hard (for whom?) to manage.

Seventh, strike at Wall Street. Regulate exotic new financial instruments, tax transactions, and draw the Federal Reserve System further under political control.

Eighth, stop Wall Street and Big Business from any further globalization of the economy that harms any part of the work force. Trade barriers are essential to this end.

Ninth, combat concentration of wealth. Tax "the rich" more heavily, as eighteenth-century Holland and Edwardian England should have done, "so that the public sector would have had funds the private sector refused to allocate to rebuild each country's manufacturing economy and neglected infrastructure." Phillips likes the strangely named "progressive flat tax" (no deductions at all, brackets from 14 to 40 percent), a progressive expenditure tax, taxing heirs instead of estates, more capital gains tax (on the rich), and a wealth tax. He also likes the idea of enacting such tax ideas in a national referendum.

Tenth, bring national and international debt under control. Phillips refuses to consider any curbs on entitlement or any other kind of spending. He is more interested in boosting capital gains taxes (on the rich) with a special 25 percent surtax when the gains are realized on bonds or other financial assets. These new rev-

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enues will close the deficit and eventually stabilize the national debt.

There is no lamenting of Big Government, and no mention at all of Big Labor. There is no appeal to shrink the revenues flowing to Washington and free the American people from the coils of a regulatory process gone mad. Phillips wants more regulations, especially on the rich, and more revenues, always in the name of fairness, extracted from the rich.

Phillips demands trade protection and loathes those interests that are moving low-wage manufacturing jobs abroad. He makes an impassioned call for radical plebiscitarian politics, national referenda on even tax bills, and the conversion of a two-party system into a chaos of splinter parties reminiscent of any number of inept European experiments. He yearns for governments that are orderly, rational, collaborative, and above all efficient, a thought that would certainly have terrified the Founding Fathers, although it might have inspired, say, Mussolini.

It is hard to fault Phillips's analysis, which is replete with acute historical insights and well-marshalled facts. The American people are the not-so-proud owners of a corrupt and swollen capital city, and the prisoners of a parasitical class that exists to manipulate government to transfer America's wealth into the favored pockets of a few.

But, alas, the remedies offer little hope for a salutary correction. The only real correction is to work through the political process to shrink the size of government, reduce its heavy burdens on the nation's producers, and hack off the thousand tentacles that have strangled the liberties of a once-free people. A year ago one might have agreed with Kevin Phillips that the chances of bloodlessly overthrowing this tyranny in the era of an activist left-wing president, an imperial and arrogant Congress, and an entrenched Washington power structure ranged from slim to none. More recently, however, the American people have given us reason for hope.

John McClaughry, formerly a senior policy advisor in the Reagan White House, is president of the Ethan Allen Institute in Concord, Vermont.

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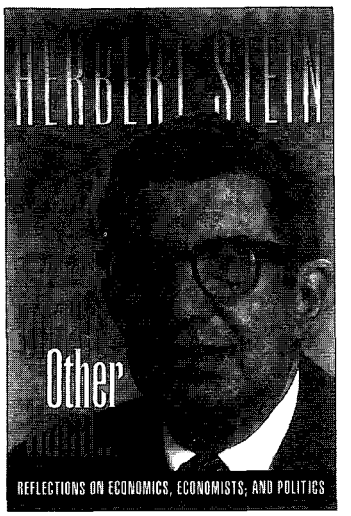
More witty reflections from The Washington Economist.

HERBERT STEIN



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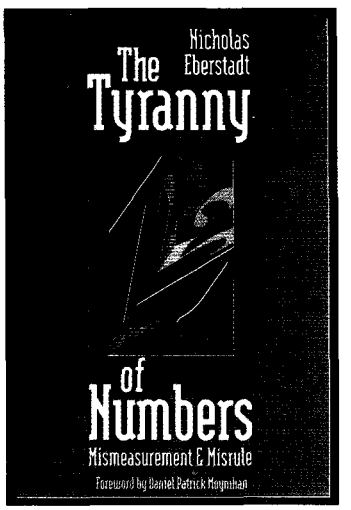

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the Digest

SUMMARIES OF IMPORTANT NEW RESEARCH FROM THE NATION'S UNIVERSITIES, THINK TANKS, AND INVESTIGATIVE PUBLICATIONS

The Bettman Archive

H-bomb test, Operation IVY, Marshall Islands, 1952.

Politics

The States vs. The Feds

Ellen Perlman, "The Gorilla That Swallows State Laws," in Governing *(August 1994). 2300 N Street NW #760, Washington, DC, 20037.*

The U.S. Constitution says that acts of Congress take precedence over laws passed by the states. Throughout most of America's history, however, Congress chose to preempt few state laws. But in the past two decades, Congress has chosen to supersede state laws nearly 250 times—almost as many times as in the previous 180 years. While attempts to preempt state laws only succeed one time out of five, says Perlman, a *Governing* staff writer, the result is "a tug-of-war between Washington and the states that has only grown more intense" in recent years.

Many of the disputes between Congress and the states concern environmental matters. Business lobbyists, for example, have tried (and failed) to get Congress to preempt such state laws as those regulating drinking water and those that allow unlimited liability for corporations who spill petroleum. Other battles take place in the telecommunications and banking industry. In 1993, for example, Congress passed a law that forbade states from setting rates for cellular telephone calls. Bankers and credit bureaus are trying to persuade Congress to restrict states from setting tougher standards for credit reporting than are currently allowed under Federal Trade Commission regulations.

When preemption cases come before the Supreme Court, the Court has historically tended to side with the federal government, "holding that state power in such cases consists of little more than the ability to try and persuade Congress to exercise restraint." In *South Carolina v. Baker* (1988), for example, the Court ruled that Congress could tax municipal bonds and not violate "the doctrine of intergovernmental tax immunity." But in recent years, the Supreme Court has favored states more often. In a 1991 case, the Court said that Missouri's law forcing judges to retire at age 70 did not violate federal laws against age discrimination. Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, in her opinion, wrote that Congress must clearly state it is preempting state laws when it chooses to do so; preemption cannot be implied. "It is incumbent upon the federal courts," Justice O'Connor wrote, "to be certain of Congress' intent before finding that federal law overrides this balance" between the federal government and the states.

States are also worried that their laws may eventually be preempted by international organizations such as the proposed World Trade Organization. In a 1992 case, for example, a panel of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) ruled that state tax breaks given to in-state vintners and breweries discriminated against Canadian firms and thus violated global trade law. Should these rulings become common, Perlman notes, "the federal government will get an idea of what it feels like to be preempted."

War and Technology

Andrew F. Krepinevich, "Cavalry to computer: The Pattern of Military Revolutions," in The National Interest *(Fall 1994). 1112 16th Street NW #540, Washington, DC, 20036.*

Did the Gulf War mark an advance in the ways armies fight? To find the answer, argues Krepinevich, director of the Defense Budget Project, it's best to study the past and to study military history.

A military revolution to Krepinevich is one that combines "technological change, systems development, operational innovation, and organizational adaption" in ways that change the nature of conflict, result in drastic changes in strategy and/or tactics, or result in major changes in military organization.

Consider the military revolutions that have taken place in the past two centuries. Napoleon invented the *levée en masse* (mass army) and, with the help of standardized parts and extremely light cannon, conquered Europe. The common use of railways and telegraphs during the Civil War ensured both that large quantities of troops could travel vast distances and that distant commanders could communicate with subordinates in the field. The late nineteenth century saw replacement of the wooden ship with metal-hulled dreadnoughts, submarines, and torpedoes. World War I did not have any substantial military advances (the trench warfare of the Western Front was prefigured by such late Civil War sieges

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as Petersburg) but technological advances ensured that World War II would bring strategic bombardment, radio, radar, *blitzkriegs,* and carrier battlegroups. The final revolution, at least until our time, was the introduction of nuclear weapons as a war-deterring device from 1945 onwards.

The Gulf War, Krepinevich argues, is a precursor of future revolutions, in much the same way that the World War I battle of Cambrai (1917), the first to use massive numbers of tanks and planes, foreshadowed World War II tactics. Some aspects of the Gulf War merely extended past practice; the 9,000 laser-guided bombs dropped on Iraq, for example, were roughly the same number dropped on North Vietnam during Operation Linebacker (1972). But the decisive triumph of Allied forces over Iraq also signaled that military organizations can now detect, track, and destroy targets with a degree of precision vastly higher than during the Cold War era.

In any case, history suggests, says Krepinevich, that the U.S. will not continue to be the world's superpower indefinitely. Technological advances may allow less powerful nations to compete, much in the same way that Japan could be a naval rival to the U.S. in the 1920s and 1930s, even though the Japanese economy was only one-tenth to one-fifth as big as America's. The U.S. military should be cautious, Krepinevich argues, about its ability to respond effectively to future military technology advances.

Economics

Rock and Roll Stardom

William A. Hamlen, Jr., "Variety and Superstardom in Popular Music," in Economic Inquiry *(July 1994). Western Economic Association International, 7400 Center Avenue #109, Huntington Beach, California 92647.*

The great classical economists Alfred Marshall and Irving Fisher have argued that as income levels rise, consumers will spend more money on quality goods and services and less money on products perceived as being of lower quality. To test this idea (which economists have called "the superstar phenomenon"), Hamlen, an economist at the State University of New York (Buffalo), conducted a regression analysis of 115 popular music singers who performed between 1955 and 1987, including both singers who never had a song in the Billboard top 1,000 and proven hitmakers such as Elvis and the Beatles.

The Bettman Archive

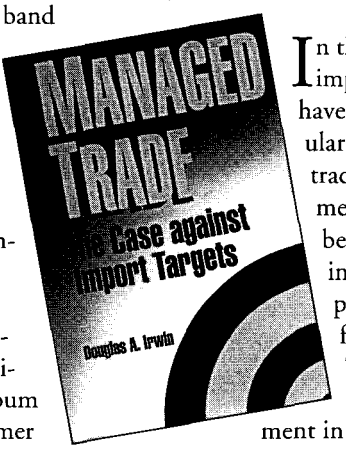
The Beatles, c. 1964.

A singer's vocal range, whether or not he wrote his own songs, and whether or not he died at an early age, Hamlen found, had no effect on sales. Being in a successful movie, on average, provided a singer with one additional hit single and one more hit album over his career. Being backed up by a good band resulted in an increase of .6 more hit singles and 1.2 more hit albums. Women had a career advantage of .5 hit singles and .5 hit albums; blacks faced no disadvantage in singles, but were likely to produce one fewer hit album than equivalent white counterparts, suggesting discrimination in the upper-end album market. The average consumer during this period, Hamlen contends, preferred rock and roll over folk and country-and-western albums, which may explain why the folk boom of the early 1960s died so quickly and why such well-known folk artists as Bob Dylan turned to electric music.

While superstars sold better than their less-known counterparts, Hamlen believes, they did not sell so well as Marshall and Fisher predicted, because the consumer's love of variety ensured a more diverse market not dominated by hitmakers.

Managing Trade

Douglas A. Irwin, Managed Trade: The Case Against Import Targets. *AEI Press, 1150 17th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036 (86 pages, $14.95).*



In the past decade, voluntary import agreements (VIAs) have been an increasingly popular weapon in the arsenal of trade warriors. In these agreements, a country deemed to be protectionist allows an importer to acquire a fixed percentage of market share for his product.

Two VIAs have been well established; a 1985 agreement in which Japan agreed to mandate that at least 20 percent of its semiconductor market be opened to foreign competitors, and a 1992 accord in

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which subsidiaries of Japanese auto manufacturers operating in the United States agreed to double their purchase of automobile parts between fiscal years 1990 and 1994 and that, by 1994, at least 70 percent of these parts purchases come from American suppliers.

Leading trade officials in the Clinton administration, including Commerce Secretary Ronald Brown and U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor have spoken favorably of VIAs as a tool to unlock allegedly closed Japanese markets. Irwin, an associate professor of business economics at the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business, suggests that the Clinton administration be more skeptical of VIAs. VIAs, he argues, "are managed trade in the worst sense of the word. They do not make economic sense, they detract from the goal of liberalizing the Japanese economy, and they undermine the objective of an open, nondiscriminatory world trading system."

Representative Kantor's statement, for example, that "Japan's markets are closed by any measure you may choose," Irwin argues, "is absurd." According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, as of 1992, 7.8 percent of the Japanese gross domestic product was used to purchase imports. By contrast, 8.2 percent of American GDP and 8.6 percent of European Union GDP was used to buy imports. Moreover, Japan, as a country lacking in raw materials, must create more high-value exports in order to pay for its extensive imports of food and energy. While some import barriers do exist, particularly in agriculture, Irwin contends that "no compelling evidence exists that the volume or composition of Japan's external trade is significantly different from what should be expected of any country given Japan's natural and accumulated resource endowments, distance from trading partners, and average degree of protection."

Any attempt to impose VIAs, Irwin argues, would only strengthen bureaucrats in MITI and the Ministry of Finance by increasing their control over Japanese business by dictating a choice of suppliers. When a genuine trade barrier exists (saying that aluminum bats are unsuitable for Japanese baseball teams, or arguing that foreign skis are inappropriate for Japanese snow), the proper response, Irwin contends, is to use existing international forums for settling trade disputes and avoid any decision that would increase the power of the Japanese government over the private sector.

"VIAs are inherently discriminatory trade measures," Irwin concludes, "that take us away from the objective of an open multilateral world trading system."

Society

Give Juries the Facts

Newton N. Minow and Fred H. Cate, "What the Jury Doesn't Know... Could Hurt You," in The Washington Monthly *(September 1994). 1611 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20009.*

American juries are told all sorts of things during a long trial, but one fact they are never told is whether the defendant has committed any previous crimes, unless the defendant voluntarily enters this information into the public record. This restriction should end, argues Minow, chairman, and Cate, senior fellow, at the Annenberg Washington Program in Communications Policy Studies. "It's time to let juries know exactly whom they are dealing with," they argue, "and that means taking the common-sense step of putting defendants' past brushes with the law on the table."

In earlier periods, American juries were given information about a defendant's previous crimes. But from the late nineteenth century onwards, "many courts adopted the view that juries were blank slates, to be written on by judges and attorneys." The result was putting restrictions on the introduction of criminal records that continue to this day.

Proponents of criminal record restrictions argue that these records are irrelevant to the guilt or innocence of a defendant. But according to a 1991 Justice Department study, over 60 percent of criminals freed from jail will be rearrested for subsequent crimes. (The rearrest rates for certain criminals, such as sex offenders, are even higher.) Moreover, most judges are told about the convictions and arrests of defendants and witnesses, even when they try cases without a jury. Why should the law assume that judges, but not juries, are capable of separating "relevance from prejudice" when dealing with habitual criminals?

Recently, a California initiative and a Virginia law have sprung up to allow juries to know about a defendant's criminal record. Minow and Cate suggest that other states follow suit. "Blind justice is not served by a blindfolded jury," they contend. "What the jury doesn't know can hurt us all."

Sweep the Streets

George L. Kelling and Catherine M. Coles, "Disorder and the Court," in The Public Interest *(Summer 1994). 1112 16th Street NW #530, Washington, DC 20036.*

As the nation continues to debate crime, most of the discussion has been over major issues, such as lengthening sentences for murderers, rapists, and drug "kingpins." But in many neighborhoods, citizens are more concerned about loitering, defecating in the street, prostitution, and graffiti. These low-level offenses, argue Kelling, a Northeastern University professor of criminal justice, and Coles, a lawyer and anthropologist, are entry points to wider urban decay. "Citizens' daily 'in your face' street experiences tell them that things are out of control and worsening," they point out.

Until the 1960s, most cities had ordinances prohibiting loitering, vagrancy, and other similar crimes. But the Supreme Court, in such cases as *Papachristou v. City of Jacksonville* (1972) and *Kolender v. Lawson* (1983), struck down these ordinances as unconstitutional violations of the Fourteenth Amendment right to due process. Prosecutions for vagrancy and loitering ceased, and police, many of whom disliked doing jobs they thought should be done by social workers, allowed vagrants to roam the streets at all hours of the day and night.

But a growing body of research shows that allowing dirty and disorderly people to dominate a neighborhood increases urban unrest. In *Disorder and Decline*

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(1990), Wesley Skogan studied 40 residential neighborhoods and concluded that residents, regardless of their race or ethnic background, reduced their use of public transport and parks whenever disorderly acts increased. Subsequent work by sociologists in New Haven, the Fenway section of Boston, and San Francisco confirmed the public's aversion to public disorder.

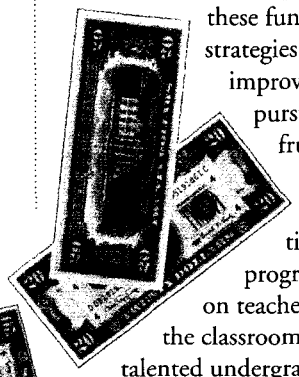
As a result of rising public aversion to disorder, police are once again fighting disorder, this time using more precise rules. New York City transit cops used to arrest homeless people for "obstructing," a vague charge frequently thrown out by the courts. When the charge was changed to "lying down," convictions increased. Laws barring panhandling, Kelling and Coles suggest, may also be unconstitutional, but laws prohibiting panhandlers from travelling in packs or plying their trade at night may survive court challenges.

There are limits to how effective public order laws can be, the authors admit. A Tampa ordinance barring "loitering for the purpose of" prostitution will not, by itself, end prostitution. But the continuing effort to allow people to walk the streets and play in the parks without fear of harassment, the authors conclude, will make citizens feel more secure than flashier and more expensive programs. "For most citizens," Kelling and Coles say, "the crime problem in cities is disorder."

Blowing Cash at School

Making Schools Work: Improving Performance and Controlling Costs, *Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20036 (176 pages, $34.95). Principal author: Eric Hanushek*

Over the past century, spending on American public schools has increased, on average, by about 3.5 percent a year above and beyond inflation. In constant 1990 dollars, government annual spending per pupil jumped from $164 in 1890 to $4,622 a century later. Government spending on elementary and secondary education totalled $190 billion in 1990.



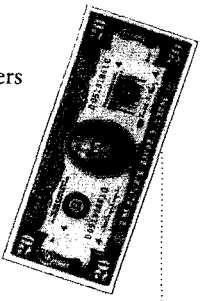
Yet despite these vastly increased expenditures, academic achievement has stagnated. And the authors, 12 professors of education, economics, and public policy led by Hanushek, a professor of economics and public policy at the University of Rochester, argue that spending more money on schools will not improve them. They call instead for existing funds to be spent more wisely. "By some measures, expenditure on education has grown faster than spending on health," the authors contend. "Yet while health care costs are the subject of vigorous debate, the unremitting growth in educational spending receives only passing attention in most policy discussions."

Education cost increases come from steady rises in the pay of teachers and principals. Between 1890 and 1940, instructional salaries increased by 250 percent, in constant dollars; between 1940 and 1970, these salaries doubled again. Between 1970 and 1990, constant dollar spending on instructional staff increased by an additional 30 percent, even though the total number of students enrolled in public schools fell from 41 million to 36 million. Teachers' salaries rose by $40 a day between 1980 and 1990.

Schools remain unproductive despite these funds because poor strategies for school improvement have been pursued. Favorite but fruitless policies include:

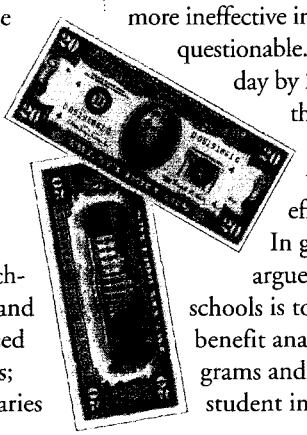
Teacher certification—Certification programs have no effect on teacher performance in the classroom and may dissuade talented undergraduates from considering education as a career.

Class size reduction—There's no evidence that teaching becomes more effective when class size falls. Japanese schools typically have classes twice as large as American ones, as teachers choose to spend more of the school day in preparation in exchange for teaching larger classes. Class-size reductions are quite costly; up to 30 percent of the bill for rising staff salaries comes from class size reductions.



Paying experienced teachers more—There is no evidence that an average experienced teacher is more efficient or effective than a novice. Some veteran teachers do well; others burn out.

Lengthening the school day—Since there's substantial evidence that the existing school day is used ineffectively, Hanushek et al. contend, "proposals to add more ineffective instruction are highly questionable." Increasing the school day by 20 percent could increase the cost of education by 20 percent, money which that be more effectively used elsewhere.



In general, the authors argue, the best way to reform schools is to conduct rigorous cost-benefit analysis of existing programs and rely on incentives for student improvement.

Counting Illegal Aliens

Rebecca L. Clark, Jeffrey S. Passel, Wendy N. Zimmermann, and Michael E. Fix, with Taynia L. Mann and Rosalind E. Berkowitz, Fiscal Impacts of Undocumented Aliens : Selected Estimates for Seven States. *Urban Institute, 2100 M Street NW, Washington, DC 20037.*

How many illegal aliens are there in America? How much do they consume in government services, and how much do they pay in taxes? The authors, all Urban Institute scholars, try to answer these questions by exploring the seven states where the largest number of undocumented aliens live.

As of October 1992, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) estimates the number of foreigners illegally in the United States at 3,379,000, or 1.3 percent of the American population. These undocumented aliens, the INS believes, live primarily in seven states: Arizona, California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Texas. The greatest concentration of illegal aliens, the INS estimates, is in California, where they say 1,441,000 undocumented aliens live, comprising 4.6 percent of the state's population. The sec-

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ond and third densest concentrations of aliens are in New York, with 449,000 undocumented aliens or 2.4 percent of state population, and Texas, with 357,000 undocumented aliens or 2.0 percent. The nations supplying the largest numbers of undocumented immigrants in 1992 were Mexico (1.3 million), El Salvador (327,000), and Guatemala (129,000), with several other countries, including Canada, Poland, the Philippines, and Haiti, each being the source of around 100,000 undocumented aliens.

The Urban Institute scholars note that the INS estimates are lower than estimates provided by the states. The state of California, for example, says that nearly 2,083,000 undocumented aliens lived in the state in 1992, a figure 45 percent higher than the INS estimate. The state of Texas says it has 550,000 undocumented aliens—or 55 percent higher than what the feds say.

The authors estimate that in the seven states surveyed, the states paid $471 million to incarcerate 21,395 prisoners who were illegal aliens. They estimate that the seven survey states paid $3.08 billion in the 1993–1994 academic year to educate 640,737 children of undocumented aliens. They were unable to estimate Medicaid costs, as "there are no data to reliably estimate emergency Medicaid costs for undocumented aliens." The states themselves, however, reported their share of Medicaid costs for illegal aliens in fiscal year 1993 as $445 million.

As for taxes, the Urban Institute estimates that illegal aliens in the seven states paid $1.07 billion in sales taxes in 1992, $92 million in income taxes, and $724 million in property taxes.

Other Countries

Stagnant Germany

Amity Shlaes, "Germany's Chained Economy," in Foreign Affairs *(September/October 1994). Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York, New York 10021.*

For decades, German political leaders promised voters that in return for high taxes, they would receive large salaries and generous welfare benefits. German workers, for example, receive between 25 and 32 days of paid vacation every year, with an additional 10 to 13 state or religious holidays. In 1993, the average German worker cost his employers $25 an hour in wages and benefits; the average American worker, by contrast, earned $15.50 an hour. "So generous is Germany," writes Shlaes, a *Wall Street Journal* editorial writer, "that its unemployed often enjoy greater benefits—free health care, for example—than the working poor in the United States."

Today, however, the German welfare state is breaking down. The German "cradle-to-grave social welfare system has yielded a peculiarly airless environment that stifles energy and innovation," Shlaes writes. "The Federal Republic now faces the greatest test yet of its old social contract."

Pundits have been expecting "Eurosclerosis" in Germany for some time, but the crisis didn't hit in full force. This did not set in until after East and West Germany were reunified in 1990. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, instead of offering the East Germans low taxes and less regulation, instead extended the West German welfare state to the east, making East German labor costly, even though East German workers were 44 percent less productive than their western German counterparts. The result: Germany's national debt has doubled in the past five years, and German firms, rather than invest in the east, prefer to establish plants in Poland and the Czech Republic, where workers are far less expensive.

Arbitrary regulations also retard German job creation. The Rabattgesetz (sales law) prohibits stores from marking down goods except during state-approved "sales periods." Most German stores are banned from staying open most Saturday afternoons and Sundays. There is an Innovationskrise (innovation crisis). Punitive environmental laws slow plant construction and block most genetic engineering experiments, and German universities are so stagnant that German students wanting a first-class scientific education go to Cal Tech, Harvard, or Stanford. Between 1901 and 1910, Germany won five Nobel Prizes in science; in the 1980s, the Germans only won one scientific Nobel Prize.

It might take a generation, Shlaes predicts, for Germans to wean themselves from the welfare state. Germany's top politicians are beginning to suggest that budget cuts are in order. Without reductions in welfare benefits, Chancellor Helmut Kohl warns, Germany might be little more than a "national amusement park."

Japan Quakes

Steven Schlosstein, "Does the Empire Have No Clothes?" in The International Economy *(July/August 1994). 1133 Connecticut Avenue NW #901, Washington, DC 20036.*

In 1989, most Japanese business leaders were confident that in the twenty-first century Japan would lead the world financially, with a strong currency, an industrial policy many Americans admired, and the management technique of kaizen (continuous improvement) that firms all over the world were trying to copy. Japanese experts envisioned their nation as global economic master. Sophia University's Kuniko Inoguchi foresaw a world where once-mighty America declined and several major powers governed by Japanese-like consensus.

Today, writes Schlosstein, president of the Interactive Health Network, these Japanese triumphalists have been proven wrong. Japan has been in economic decline for three years, with massive bank debts, a stagnant stock market, and weak coalition governments. And foreign firms are increasingly successful in Japanese home markets.

Stores in Tokyo's electronics district are filled with Microsoft and Lotus software and personal computers from Compaq, Gateway, and Dell. America's share of the Japanese software market is over 50 percent. Sun Microsystems has captured 25 percent of the $5 billion Japanese workstation market, and other American computer firms are steadily increasing Japanese market share "without whining in Washington."

Consumers in Japan are also interested in the choices and value foreign firms can provide. American mail order firms, such

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as L.L. Bean, Eddie Bauer, and Land's End are steadily increasing their Japanese sales. American car manufacturers, brewers, and even rice producers are making products that the Japanese find increasingly attractive.

Instead of America emulating increasingly obsolescent Japanese top-down, command-and-control industrial policies, Schlosstein notes, the 40,000 Japanese students and 200,000 Japanese expatriates now living in the United States are studying "American ideas like deregulation, stimulative tax cuts, and supply side fiscal policy." These ideas, Schlosstein contends, will "do more for the Japanese economy than bureaucrat-led trade negotiations."

Private Property and Family Size in China

D. Gale Johnson, "Effects of Institutions and Policies on Rural Population Growth with Application to China," in Population and Development Review *(September 1994). Population Council, One Dag Hammarskjold Plaza, New York, New York 10017.*

As China continues to develop, its birthrate continues to tumble. In the 1965–1970 period, China's fertility rate was 5.97 children per couple; by 1985–90, it had fallen to 2.38 children per couple. But rural Chinese families are still having more than twice as many children as their counterparts in the city—2.8 versus 1.3 per couple, according to the 1980–85 data (the most recent available).

Some of the difference, explains Johnson, an emeritus professor at the University of Chicago, is due to Chinese government incentives. Subsidies to schools and hospitals, for instance, reduce child rearing costs. But the lack of private property in China, Johnson contends, is the factor that most encourages rural Chinese families to have more children. Land allocation in Chinese villages is traditionally based on the number of children a family has; each additional child brings an increase in the land allotted to a family. In addition, most rural Chinese can't save for their old age, since banks, life insurance, and state pensions aren't available to most citizens. Thus country families strive to have sons who can take care of parents later in life.

If Chinese farmers could own, buy, and sell property, Johnson argues, they would be less dependent on children for old-age security, particularly if their retirement incomes were supplemented with modest state pensions. China's leaders are calling for gradual land reform. Some rural Chinese have begun to receive state pensions. But Johnson encourages China's leaders to accelerate these reforms, rather than continue to rely on current "penalties and coercive measures to influence fertility decisions."

Diverse Islam

Brian Beedham, "Islam and the West," in The Economist *(August 6, 1994). 25 St. James Street, London SW1A 1HG, United Kingdom.*

With the collapse of communism, many foreign policy thinkers, such as Harvard's Samuel Huntington, predict that the Islamic world will be the next culture to pose a threat to Western civilization. But Beedham, an *Economist* staff writer, says that a cold (or hot) war between Islamic nations and Western ones is not inevitable. Despite the "past enmities and present bad temper" between Islam and the West, he contends, relations between the two blocs in the future may be more peaceful.

In the short term, Beedham predicts, relations between Islamic and Western nations will probably get worse. For instance, the tottering Algerian military dictatorship of General Liamine Zeroual may well be overthrown by Islamic fundamentalists angry at the West because of the millions spent by Western powers (particularly the French) in propping up the Zeroual regime. But a fundamentalist-led Algeria does not necessarily mean that other countries will follow suit, as the ethnic differences between Islamic nations are as sharp as those in Europe, and Islamic parties often disagree with each other on ideological and ethnic grounds. "An Algerian is as fiercely different from an Egyptian as a Prussian is from a Provencal," Beedham writes. "There is, as yet, no international Islamic revolutionary organization run by an Islamic Comintern."

Moreover, Islamic parties "appear to be less rigid in their attitudes than Lenin's communists ever were." In Jordan, Turkey, Pakistan, and Malaysia, Islamic parties are prepared to co-exist peacefully with non-Islamic parties rather than insist, as Marxist-Leninists did, that their political foes be destroyed in revolution. Other Islamic groups, Beedham argues, will have to make the same accommodations if their countries are to thrive—particularly in countries with large non-Islamic minorities, such as Algeria's Berbers, Egypt's Copts, and "the semi-Westernised middle class everywhere."

The Islamic world, Beedham predicts, is theologically about where the Christian West was in the fifteenth century, on the verge of a time of troubles that ultimately established the Reformation. If newly established Islamic fundamentalist states act in ways that harm Western interests, such as reviving oil cartels, threatening sea and air traffic, or endangering allies, then the West should act to protect its interests, Beedham argues. But most Islamic quarrels will not need policing or intervention. Ultimately, Beedham predicts, Western restraint will result in "an easier relationship with a modernised Islam."

Science and Environment

Localizing Superfund

John D. Graham and March Sadowitz, "Superfund Reform: Reducing Risk Through Community Choice," in Issues in Science and Technology *(Summer 1994). University of Texas at Dallas, Post Office Box 830688, Mail Station AD13, Richardson, Texas, 75083.*

The Environmental Protection Agency's Superfund program has been quite ineffective since it was created in 1980. Though the program was supposed to clean up thousands of hazardous-waste sites, in 14 years it has cleaned up only about 200 locations. According to the EPA, there are still more than 1,200 highly dangerous sites to be attacked, with as many as 30,000 other candidates. The cost could be as high as $100 to $300 billion over the next 30 years.

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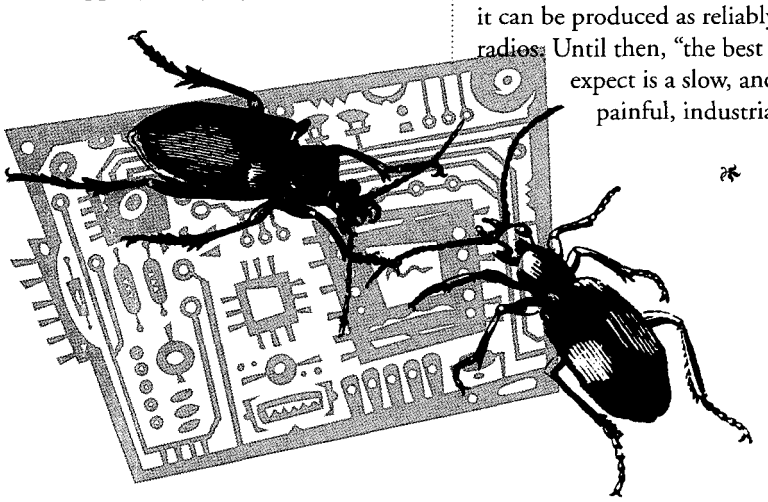
Graham, the director, and Sadowitz, a research specialist, at the Center for Risk Analysis at the Harvard School of Public Health, suggest a more efficient way to use taxpayer dollars. They propose that the Superfund program be transformed into a more general risk-reduction program. After immediate toxic waste dangers are removed, the authors suggest, communities should be able to apply to the EPA to use Superfund monies for other more cost-effective public health improvements. In addition, the authors propose reforming liability laws to restrict lawsuits against owners of sites where communities have preferred partial rather than complete cleaning of toxic waste.

Consider a community with a landfill that has been awarded a Superfund grant: Rather than cleaning all the groundwater, which can take 50 to 100 years, the community might remove waste, excavate contaminated "hot spots," supply other water to residents whose wells might be contaminated, and implement programs designed to limit groundwater spread. The community could then use the money it saved for other public health measures, such as free child-safety car seats for low-income families. Communities could also invest the money saved to use against future environmental disasters.

Communities in Graham and Sadowitz's proposal would still have to stop immediate hazards, and would not receive more than they would under the existing Superfund program. But the authors' proposals would save far more lives for the same buck. Local communities, more than EPA regulators, "are an appropriate judge of what is a wise use of scarce resources," conclude Graham and Sadowitz.



Battle of the Bugs

W. Wayt Gibbs, "Software's Chronic Crisis," in Scientific American *(September 1994), 415 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10017.*

Denver's new airport, twice as large as Manhattan and 10 times as long as London's Heathrow Airport, is supposed to be one of the technological marvels of our age. Originally scheduled to open in October 1993, it has had its inaugural delayed repeatedly because of software bugs in the automatic baggage system. By June 1994, software bugs were costing the airport $1.1 million a day.

The problems Denver International has experienced, *Scientific American* staff writer Gibbs writes, illustrate a major problem. We're becoming increasingly dependent on software. A new car might contain instruments that require 500 kilobytes of software; even an electric shaver uses two kilobytes of code. But software today is handcrafted one line at a time, "more a cottage industry than a professional engineering discipline." If software is ever to be as reliable as other engineered products, it has to be produced in a controlled fashion.

Today, even rigorous bug-catching systems fail to detect errors that cause systems to crash. Despite expensive testing, for example, Department of Defense engineers failed to catch a bug that caused the satellite Clementine to fail in the spring of 1994. Software production, Gibbs argued, has a long way to go before it can be produced as reliably as soap or radios. Until then, "the best we can expect is a slow, and possibly painful, industrial evolution."

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Business Manager

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Edited by Karlyn Bowman and Everett Carll Ladd
Data from the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research

Gauging the 1994 Vote

The historic U.S. experience with partisan realignments shows them occurring over extended periods—though one or two elections in each realigning period may yield especially dramatic results, as last November's balloting did.

Our present realignment is now, by some reckonings, a quarter-century old, which means that pieces of it are getting awfully familiar. The regional story bears this out. The South has been trending Republican since the 1960s, and virtually every election in this span has seen new movement in the GOP direction. In 1994, for the first time, Republicans won a majority of the region's popular vote for Congress and a majority of its congressional seats.

After 1992's balloting, Democrats still led the GOP in House seats by a large 71–45 margin in the 10 states of the Deep South. Now Republicans have the edge, 59 seats to 57. The chart on page 102 shows the extraordinary gains the party has made in the South since 1968—and how much of the total has come just since 1990.

Striking though it is, this regional realignment still has a ways to go. The South is easily the most conservative part of the country, and it is unlikely the GOP's margin there will be limited to its present two congressional seats. Even more movement is likely in state legislative seats. Following the November 1994 vote, Democrats still outnumbered Republicans 1,038 to 598 in Southern legislatures. Historically, realignment expresses itself most slowly at the local level.

In other parts of the country, the Republicans have lost ground. Even after a strong 1994 performance in the region, the party has 14 fewer seats in the industrial Midwest than it had in 1968. Part of this drop-off is due of course to population loss; the region had 84 seats in 1968, 74 now.

The New Republic proclaimed in its December 5 cover story, written by Mickey Kaus, that if Mr. Clinton had "pushed for welfare reform rather than health care reform in 1994, we would now be talking about a great Democratic realignment, rather than a great Republican realignment." The data that we present on pages 108 and 109 suggest otherwise.

Americans plainly want welfare reform. But, in contrast to health care, where their current dissatisfaction has varied sources, the public's criticism of welfare policy targets government almost exclusively. This means, of course, that it targets policy pioneered and sustained largely by Democrats.

I suppose it might have been possible for President Clinton to break cleanly with his party's welfare approach of the last three decades and present the public with something dramatically popular. But, by this reasoning, he could also have satisfied the public's real desire for health care reform—which did not center around a big new government-directed system. In health and welfare policies alike, Americans start with considerable dissatisfaction over the government's performance, and even Clinton did not understand this.

Finally, we have heard a lot about how November voters were "angry" over many things, including economic trends. But, election-time data actually show considerable recognition of the fact that the U.S. economy had rebounded. They also reveal other sorts of basic public contentment. Looking at job satisfaction, for instance, which we do on pages 105–107, we see a working public that is reasonably well satisfied, certainly not up in arms. Loyalty to the place where one works, and the sense that it reciprocates, is remarkably high according to data from Roper Starch Worldwide, shown on page 109.

—Everett Carll Ladd

Inside

102 REPUBLICAN REALIGNMENT— A look inside the House.

105 SATISFACTION WITH WORK— What's pleasing at the job site.

108 REFORMING WELFARE— Consensus on fixing the system.

110 ELECTION VIGNETTES— Results you haven't read about.

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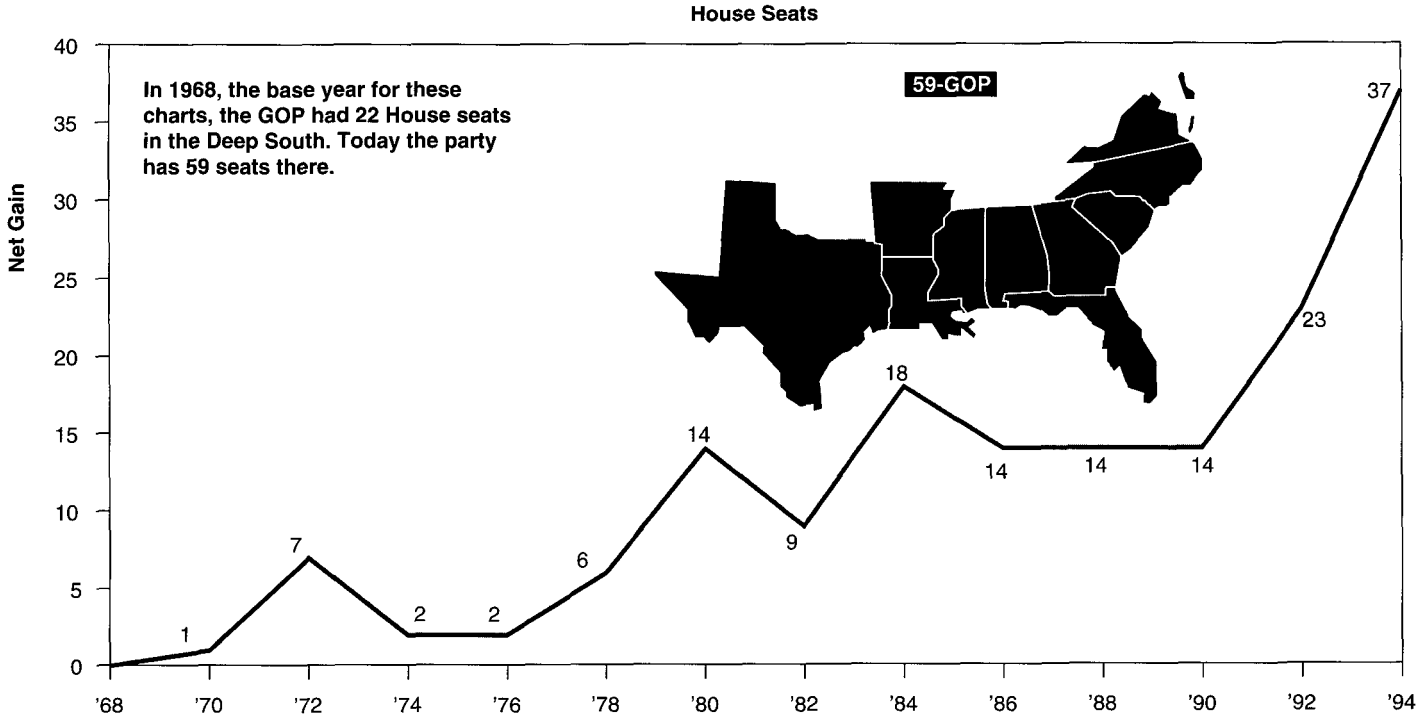
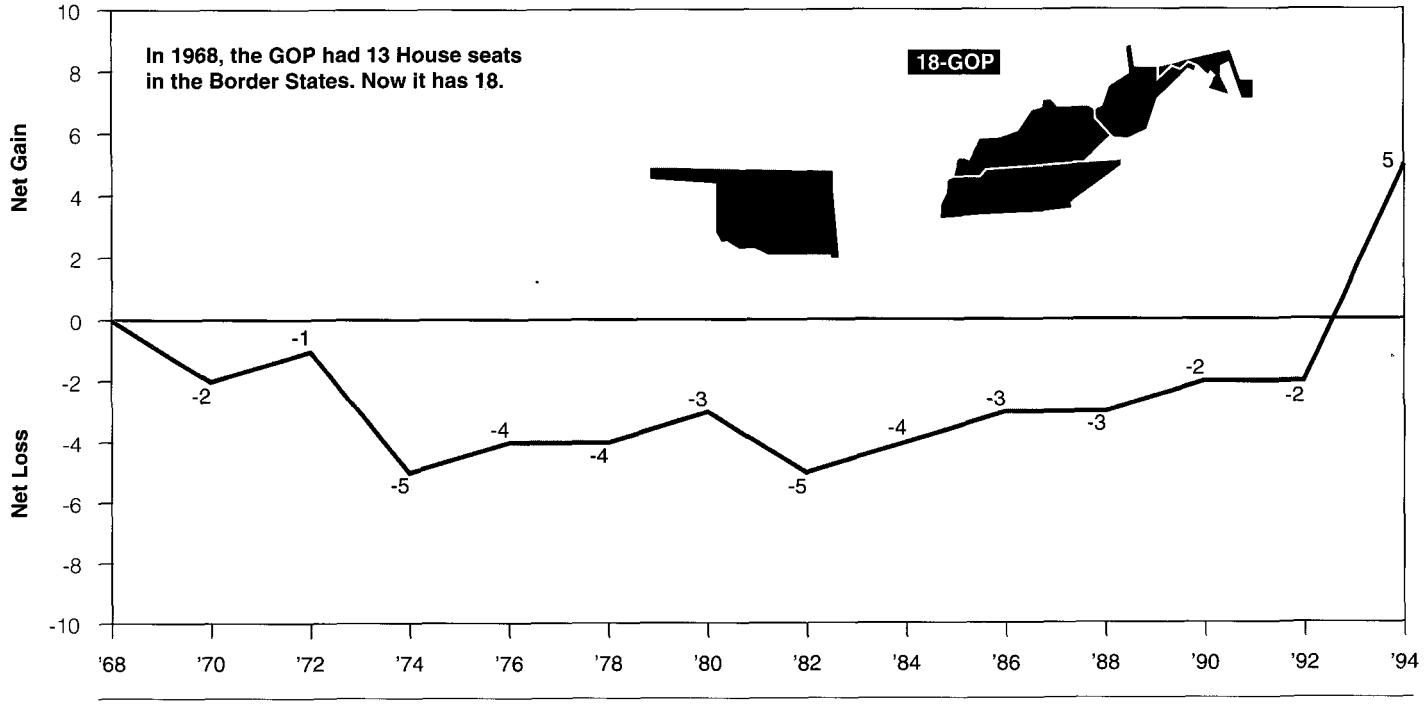
REPUBLICAN REALIGNMENT: The Southland Boom

November 8th's electoral tidal wave brought the Republicans to 231 seats in the House of Representatives. Try as they might in the last quarter century, the party could not break the 192 seat barrier. In 1968, in 1972, and again in 1980, the party reached that high water mark. Below and on the next two pages we show how they finally smashed through. Alex Gage of the Politics & Policy Group of Market Strategies, Inc. has earlier shown how the GOP delegation in the House evolved from the election of 1968. On pages 102–104 we update his findings. The GOP made strides nationally in 1994, but the most notable shift was movement of the South into the Republican camp.





Source: Alex P. Gage of the Politics & Party Group of Market Strategies, 1968–1992 and AEI, 1994.

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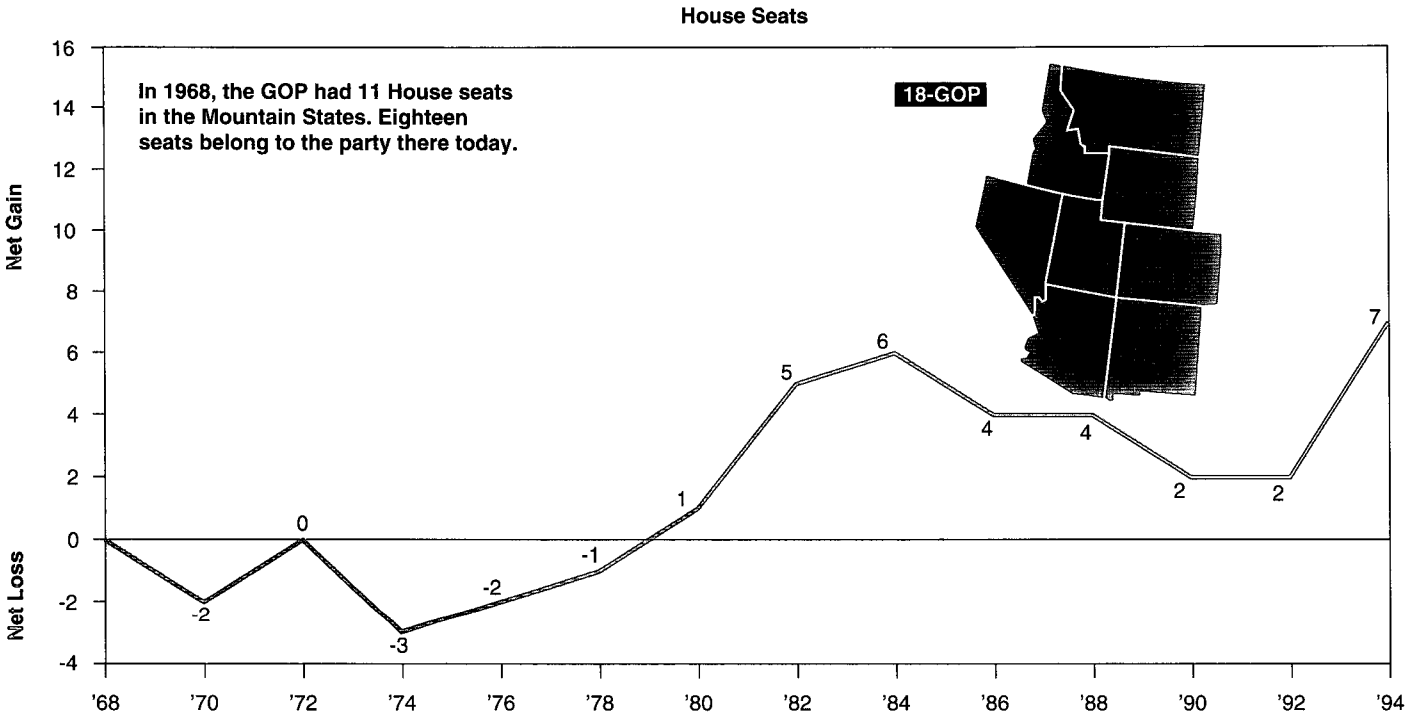
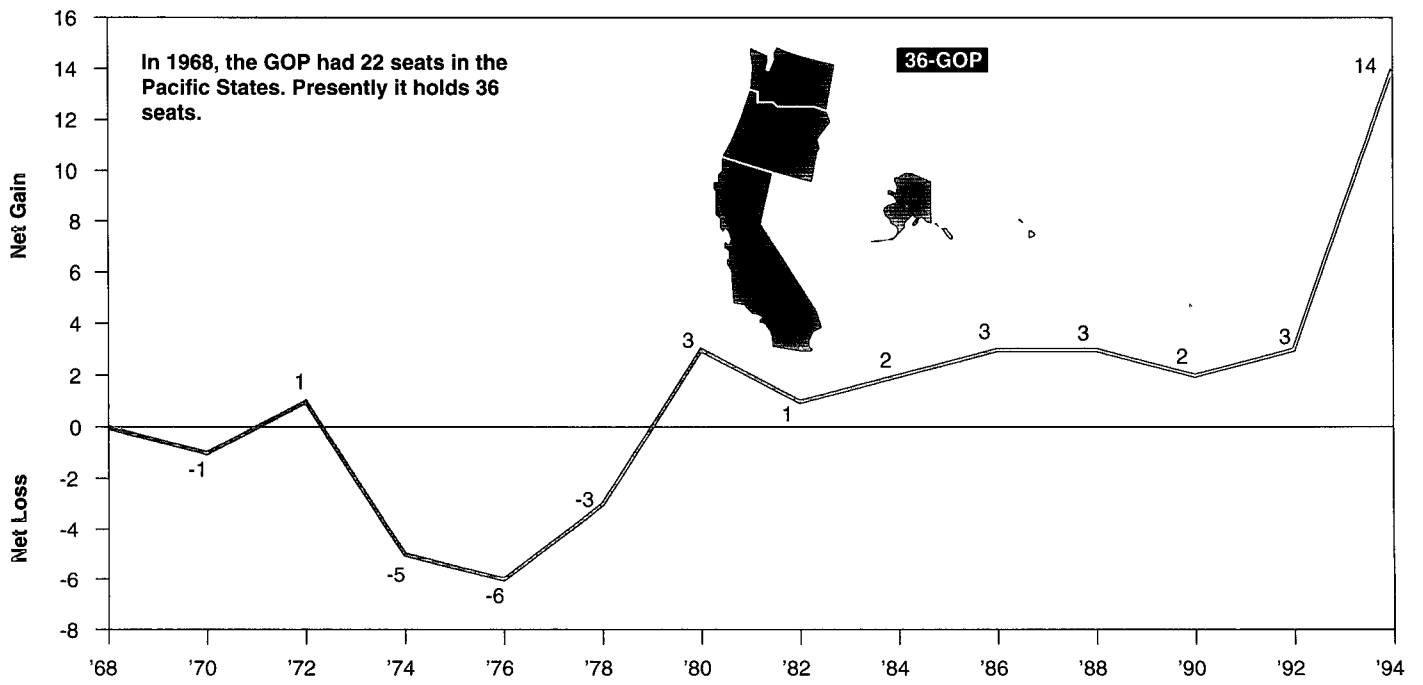
The War for the West

The Republican delegation from the West is now much larger than in the past. In recent decennial reapportionments, the West has experienced the largest percentage increase in congressional seats of any region. The Mountain States, low in population compared to other areas, have 24 representatives today compared to 17 in 1968, and the GOP, as shown below, has been gaining ground there. Between 1968 and 1994, the number of congressional seats in the Pacific States increased from 52 to 69 seats. The GOP now has over half the seats in the Pacific States.





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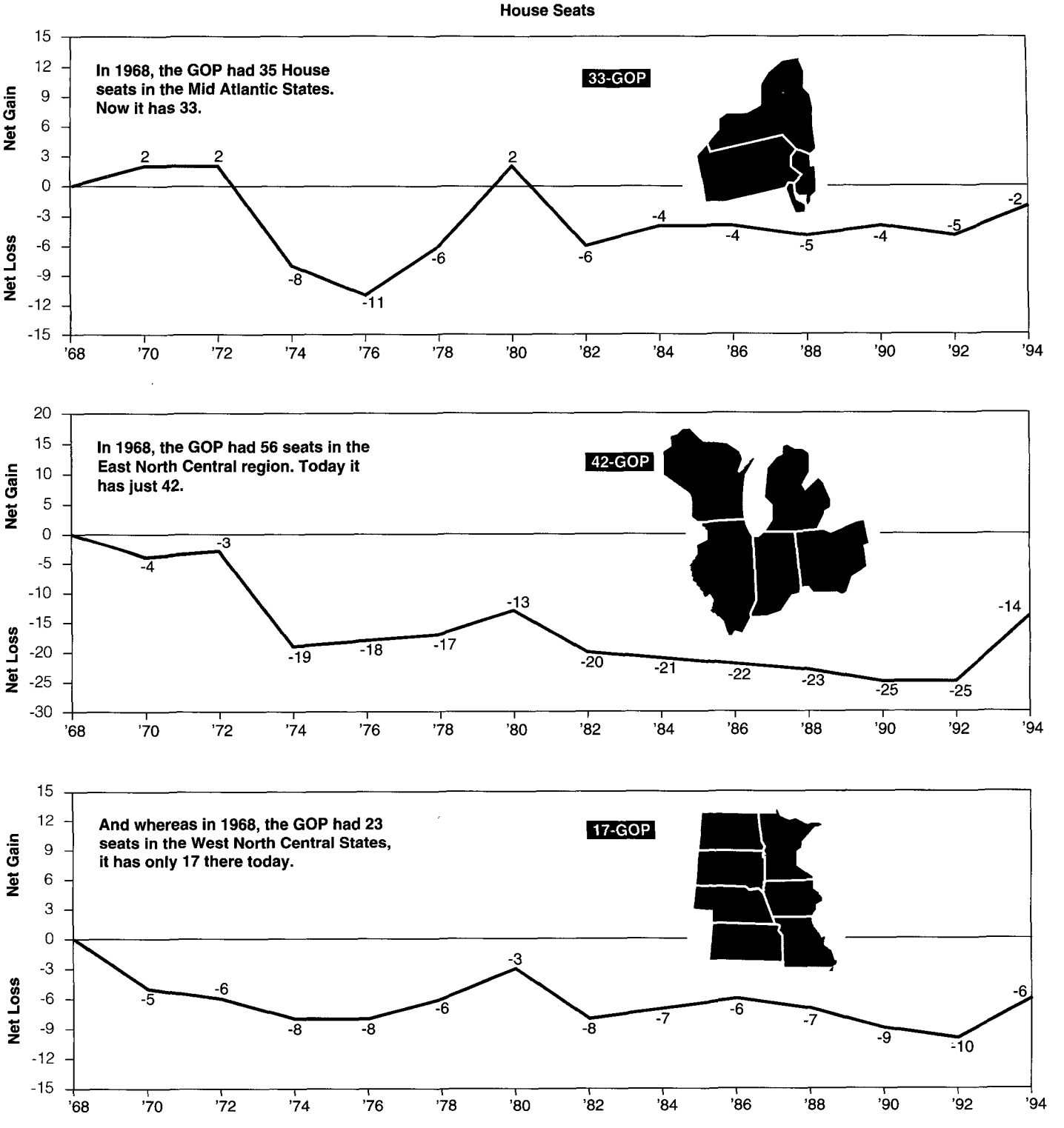
The Old GOP Power Base

The GOP's fortunes in the Northeast have declined over the last quarter century along with that region's population and representation. This is particularly true in the Mid Atlantic States. The region had 84 total congressional seats in 1968; it has 66 today. The GOP held 35 of the seats in 1968; today it has 33. The power base of the party during the 1950s and 1960s was the Midwest, where the GOP won a majority of the seats a majority of the time. Not so any more. The GOP base has shifted away from the industrial and agricultural heartland, as the figures below show.



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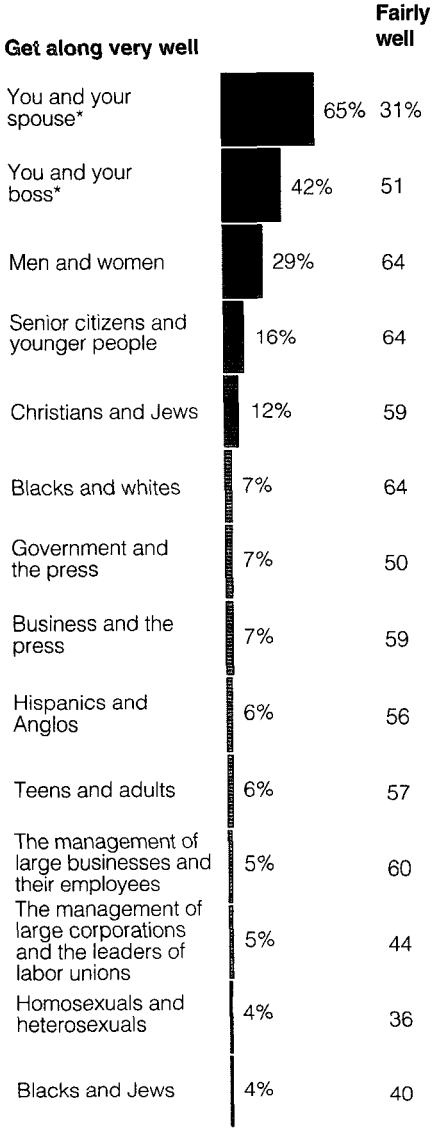
SATISFACTION WITH WORK

Over the last 20 years there has been a general decline in the number of Americans saying that they are extremely well satisfied with the work they've chosen. Still, huge majorities say that they are reasonably content. The data below provide a look at the views of workers in small, medium, and large corporations, and compare those employed in the economy's for-profit, non-profit, and governmental sectors. People who think of their work as a career and those who are self-employed are more likely than others to say they are extremely satisfied with the work they've chosen. Slightly over four in ten say they get along very well with their boss; half say they get along fairly well.

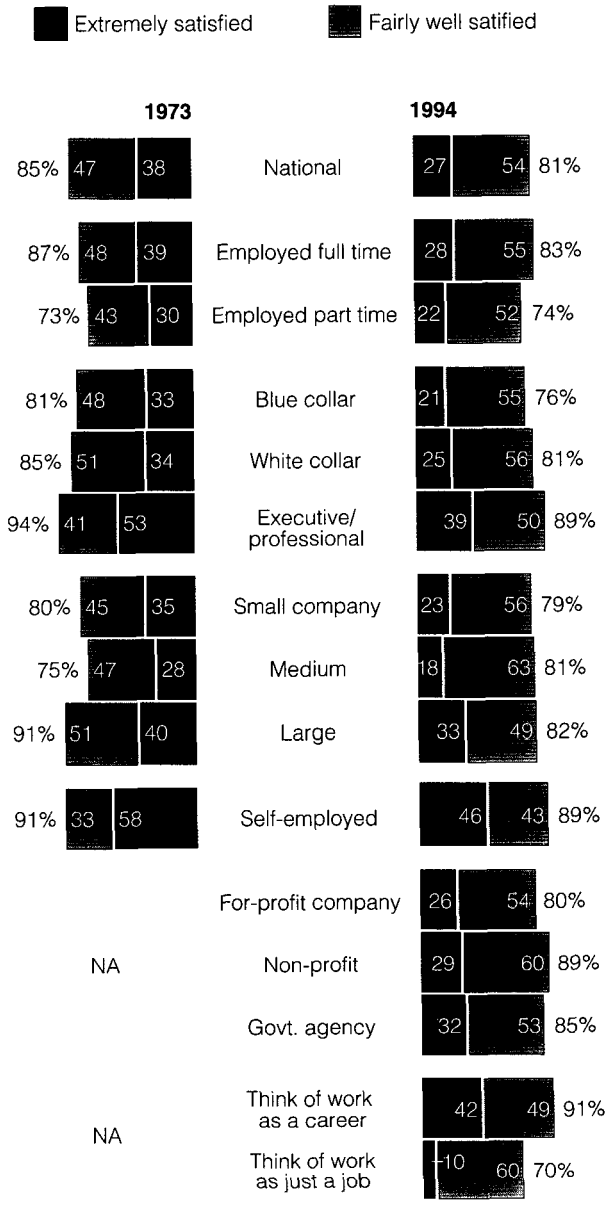
Question: **From time to time we hear discussions about how well different groups in society get along with each other. I'd like to get your opinion. For each of the groups listed on this card, please tell me if you think they generally get along very well, fairly well, or not well at all?**



Note: *Based on those to whom this item applied.
Source: Survey by the Roper Starch Worldwide Inc., May 14–21, 1994.

Question: **Everything considered, the satisfaction you get from the work you do, what it pays, etc.—how satisfied are you with the field of work you chose to go into—extremely satisfied, fairly well satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied?**

Satisfaction with the work you chose to go into



Note: Question asked of those who were employed. NA = not asked.
Source: Survey by Roper Starch Worldwide Inc., latest that of April 16–23, 1994.

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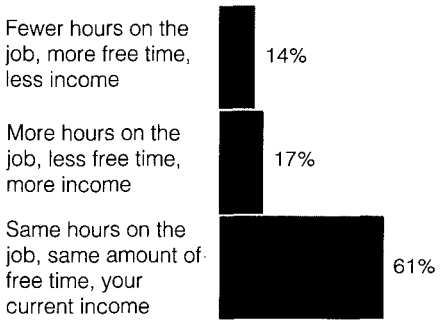
Compensation and Contentment

The idea that we are generally satisfied with the work we do is reflected in the fact that few Americans would change their current work package for a different one. Satisfaction with compensation and fringe benefits is high. While more Americans than in the past think the interests of employees and employers are opposed, solid majorities say their jobs give them what is important to them. Eighty-nine percent, for example, say that job security is important to them, and two-thirds say that their current job offers it.

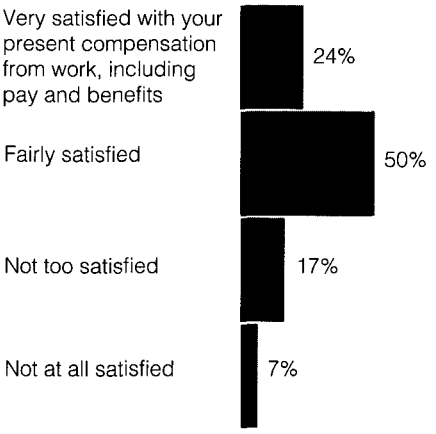
Question: **Now I want to ask you a question about work and free time: Which of the following would you choose**

Would choose...



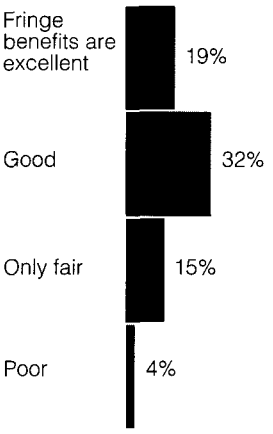
Note: Sample=registered voters who voted in the 1992 presidential election.
Source: Survey by Belden & Russonello for the Pew Global Stewardship Initiative, February 3–15, 1994.

Question: **How satisfied are you with your present compensation from work? Are you...?**



Note: Question asked of employed respondents=62%.
Source: Survey by Roper Starch Worldwide for *Worth* November 6–13, 1993.

Question: **Would you call the fringe benefits that come with your job...?**

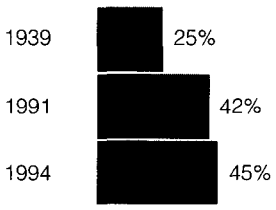


Note: Question asked of employed workers who received fringe benefits=70%.
Source: Survey by the *New York Times*, February 15–17, 1994.

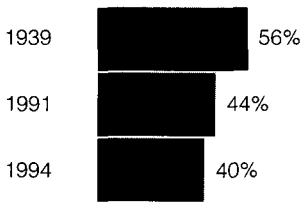
Question: **Do you think that the interests of employers and employees are, by their very nature, opposed or are they basically the same?**

Interests of employers and employees are...

Opposed

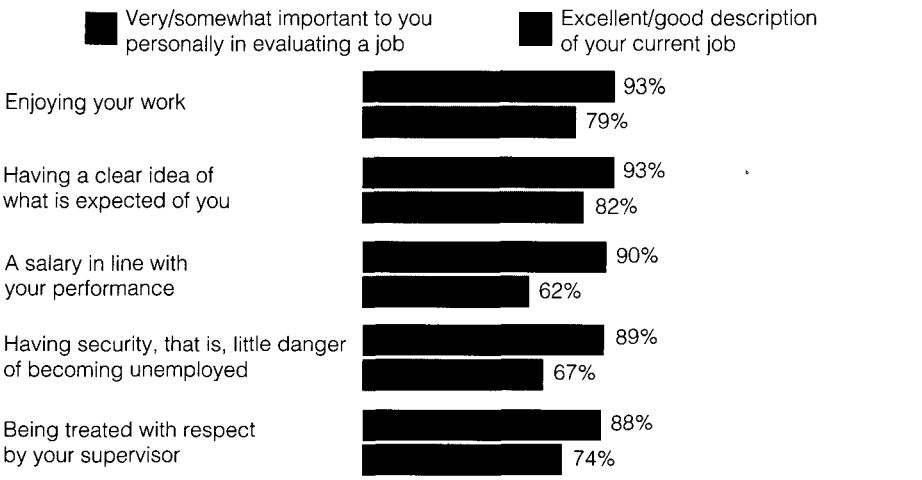


Basically the same



Source: Survey by Roper Starch Worldwide Inc., latest that of January 8–22, 1994.

Question: **Here is a list of different factors that may be important to you as you evaluate a job. For each of the items on the card, please indicate how important that item is to you personally in evaluating a job...**
Question: **Thinking about your personal work situation, please indicate whether each statement is an excellent description of your current job, a good description, a fair description or a poor description.**



Note: Not all categories shown.
Source: Survey by Roper Starch Worldwide Inc., April 16–23, 1994.

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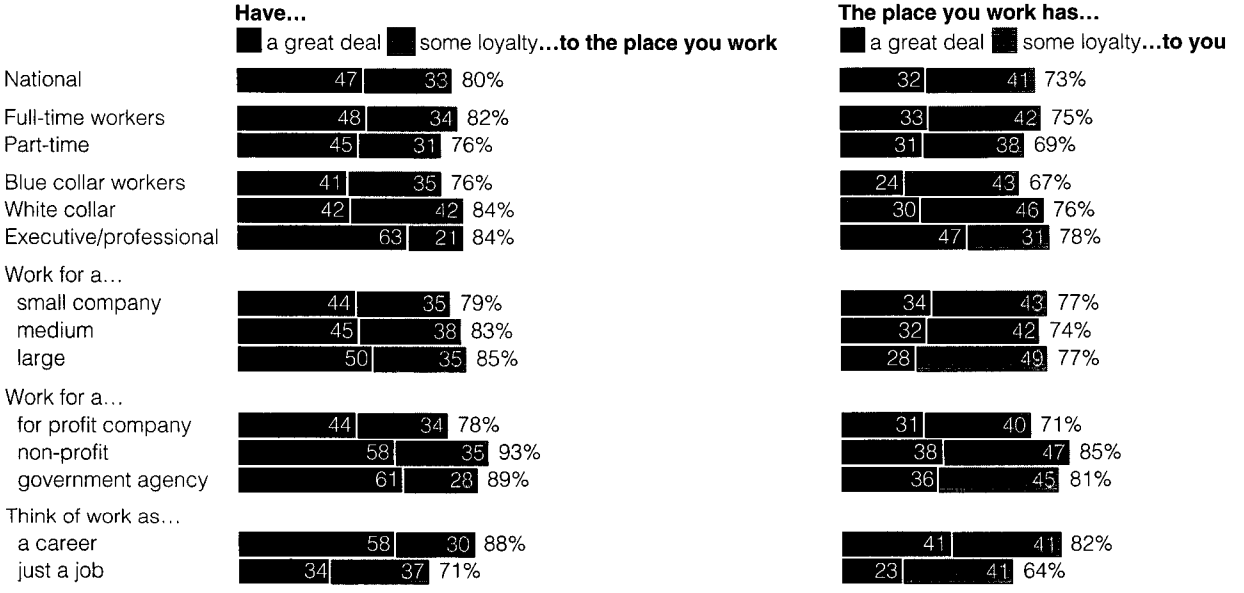
Loyalty to the Job

Solid majorities say they are loyal to their employers, while smaller majorities feel that their employers are loyal to them. Those with higher status positions are more likely to describe their work as a "career" than "just a job." Men are more likely than women to do so. Over three-quarters of those who work for a government agency describe their job as a career; 50 percent of those in for-profit companies do. Young people just starting out are more likely than those with more experience in the workforce to say their work is "just a job."

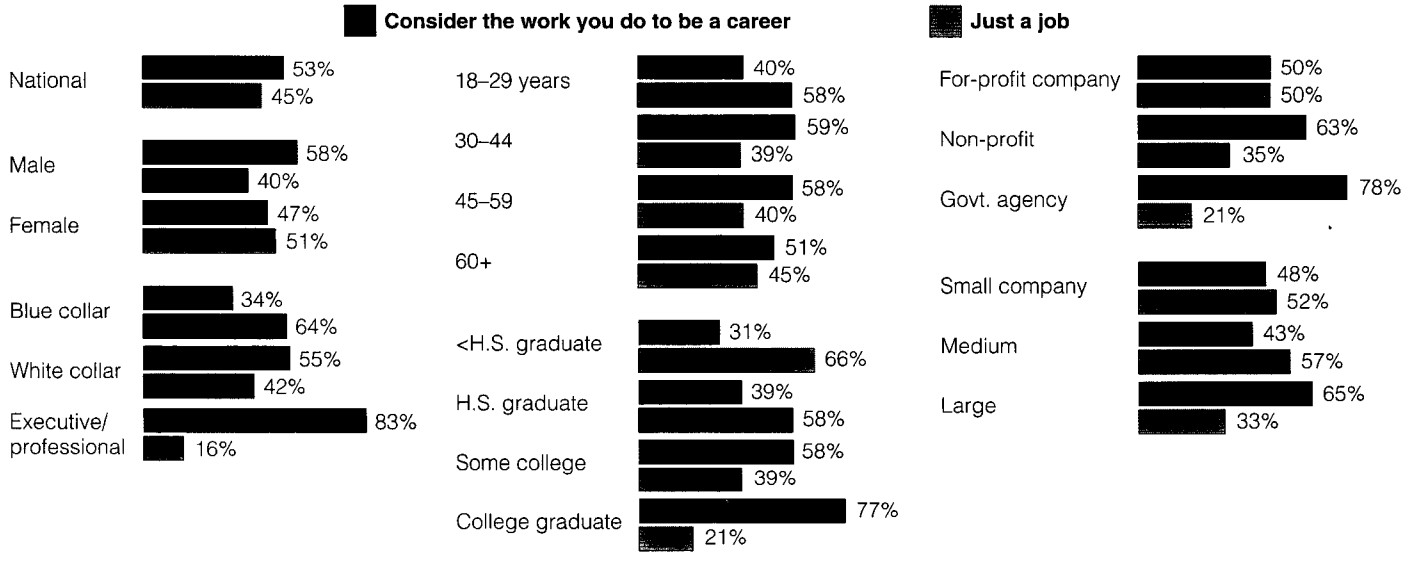
Question: **How much personal loyalty would you say you feel to the place you work?**
Question: **And how much loyalty would you say the place you work has to you?**



Source: Survey by Roper Starch Worldwide Inc., March 19–26, 1994.

A Career or Just a Job?

Question: **Do you consider the work you do to be a career or just a job?**



Source: Survey by Roper Starch Worldwide Inc., April 16–23, 1994.

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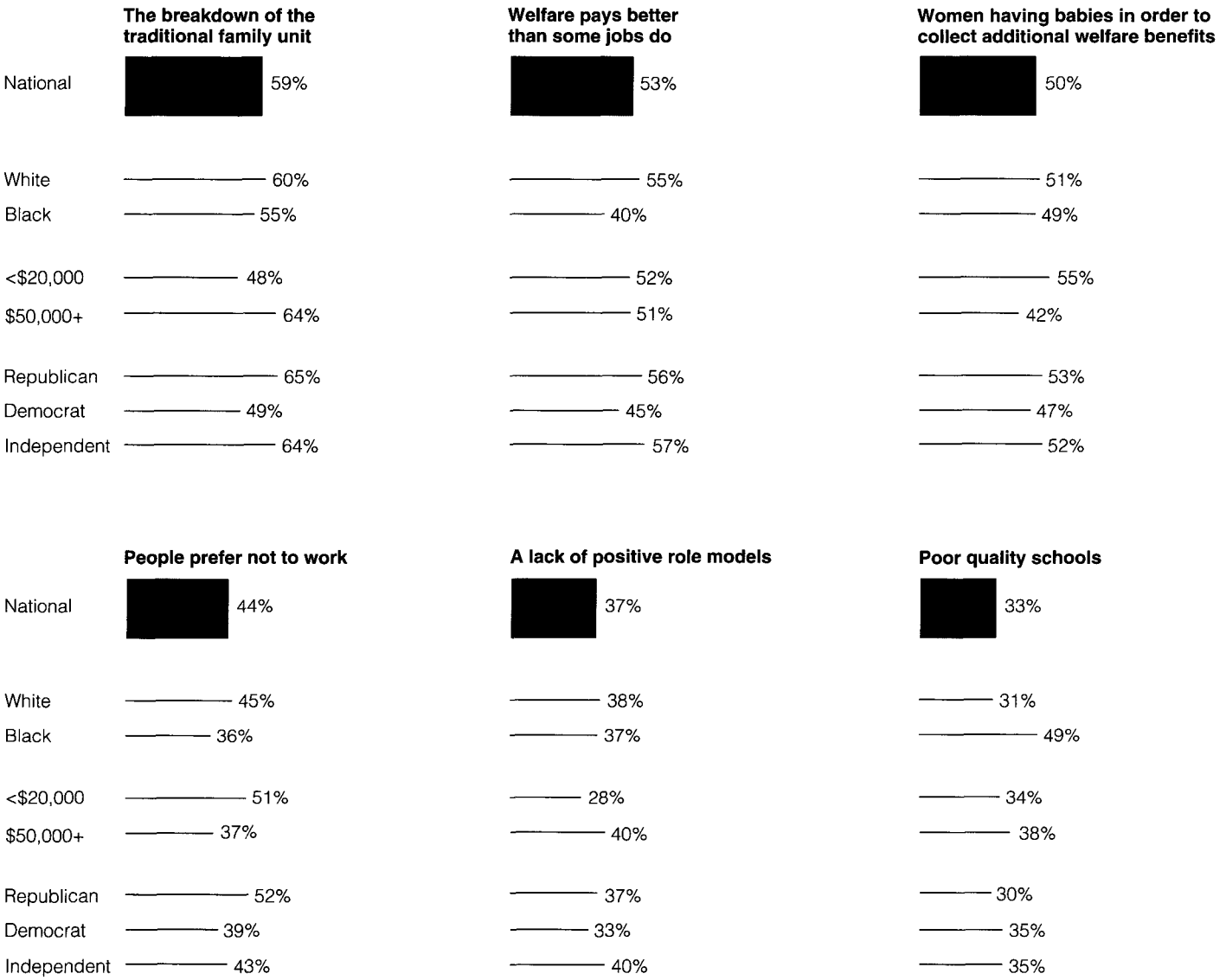
REFORMING WELFARE

The data on this page and the next show there is broad agreement on the reasons people go on welfare and on remedies to fix the system. Solid majorities of all groups cite the breakdown of family as a major reason why people are on welfare. Forty-nine percent of blacks and 50 percent of whites say women on welfare have babies to collect additional benefits. Smaller percentages feel that a lack of positive role models or poor quality schools are major reasons why people are on welfare.

Question: **Now I would like to ask you for your views concerning reasons why people are on welfare. For each of the following, please tell me whether you think this is a major reason why people are on welfare in the United States, a moderate reason for people to be on welfare, a minor reason, or not a reason at all for people to be on welfare...?**

Major reason why people are on welfare



Source: Survey by Hart and Teeter Research Companies for NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*, June 10–14, 1994

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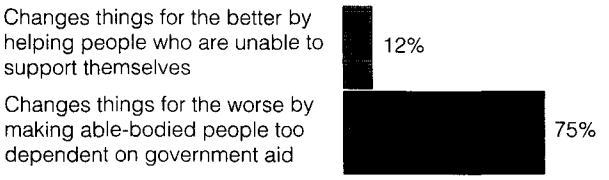
Broad Agreement on the Need for an Overhaul

Three-quarters of Americans believe the welfare system encourages dependency, and 6 in 10 say the country is losing ground on the problem. Six in ten blacks and whites say most people who receive welfare are taking advantage of the system. One in 10 in both groups say welfare spending should be ended altogether, while barely a quarter of blacks and 9 percent of whites say spending on it should be increased. Majorities of both groups support a variety of proposals to help people become self-sufficient including child-care and job training assistance. Two-years-and-out has solid support.

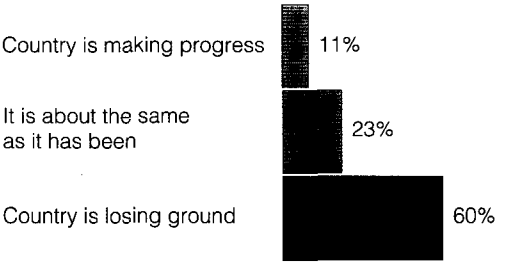
Question: **On balance, do you think the current welfare system...?**

Current welfare system



Question: **As I read some problem areas, please tell me how you think each is affecting this country today.**

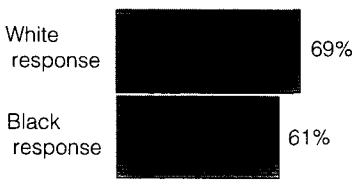
Regarding the way the welfare system is working...



Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates for the Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press, March 16–21, 1994.

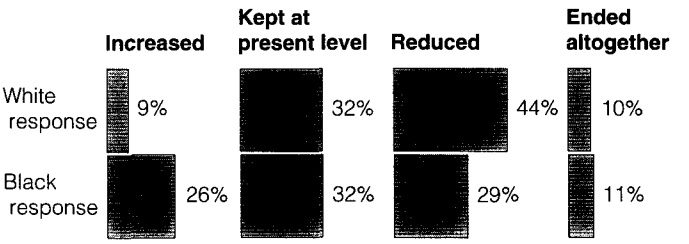
Question: **In your view are most people who receive welfare payments genuinely in need of help or are they taking advantage of the system?**

Most people who receive welfare are taking advantage of the system



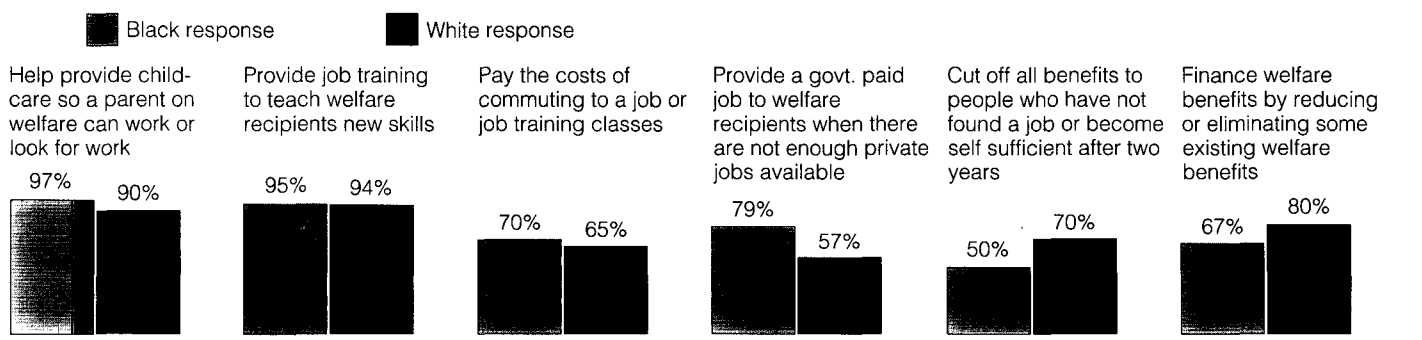
Question: **Do you feel the amount of tax money now being spent for welfare programs to help low-income families should be...?**

Tax money now being spent for welfare programs should be...



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for CNN and *USA TODAY*, April 16–18, 1994.

Question: **I am going to read a list of some things government could do as part of a plan to help welfare recipients get off welfare and become self-sufficient. Please tell me whether you would favor or oppose each one...**



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for CNN and *USA TODAY*, April 16–18, 1994.

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ELECTION VIGNETTES

The stunning national election results that gave Republicans a majority of the popular vote for Congress for the first time since 1946 masked a myriad of fascinating electoral undercurrents. We report below some stories that interested us from the exit poll data collected on election night by Voter News Service, the consortium of the four networks and Associated Press. To take just one such story, for example, President Clinton clearly has some repair work to do in the West. Pluralities or majorities in eight of nine states there said his land use and natural resources policies had hurt their states.

Immigration

- Slightly over a quarter of California voters (27 percent) cited immigration as one of the two issues that mattered most to them in casting their vote on election day. These voters opted decisively for Pete Wilson (75 percent) over Kathleen Brown (23 percent). In the Senate race, voters were given a different set of issues from which to choose those that mattered most. Seventeen percent said immigration was a top issue, and these voters went 67 percent for Huffington, 27 percent for Feinstein.

- Ten percent of Floridians and 4 percent of Texans cited immigration as one of the one or two issues that mattered most to them.

Clinton's Environmental Policies

Voters in nine states in the West were asked whether Clinton's policies on land use and natural resources had helped, hurt, or had no effect on their states. The results are printed below for the races in which the question was asked.

	Helped	Hurt	No effect
Arizona (gov)	20%	33%	29%
Colorado (gov)	24	24	27
Idaho (gov)	14	54	18
Nevada (gov)	18	47	18
New Mexico (gov)	23	39	24
Oregon (gov)	26	42	13
Wyoming (gov)	12	60	17
Montana (sen)	20	50	17
Washington (sen)	24	38	25

NAFTA

Reporters on the campaign trail identified only a few races where NAFTA was an issue. VNS asked about it in Ohio and Texas. Twenty six percent of Ohio voters said NAFTA had helped their state, 23 percent hurt, and 33 percent said it had no effect. In Texas, the results were 39 percent helped, 16 percent hurt, and 30 percent had no effect.

Government's Role

When voters in House races were asked which came closer to their point of view,

56% said government is doing too many things better left to business and individuals
41% said government should do more to solve national problems

Health Insurance

On the exit poll, voters could check boxes that applied to them. They were asked, for example, whether they were married (58 percent), were talk radio listeners (21 percent), whether someone in their household belonged to a labor union (14 percent). In some, but not all, states, they were asked if they lacked health insurance. The place where the highest percentage of voters said they had no health insurance was in Maine, where 16 percent of voters in the governor's race said that description applied to them. Here are some of the other results.

	Have no health insurance	and voted Rep.	Dem.
Connecticut (gov)	10%	35%	35%
Florida (gov)	11	48	52 ✓
Illinois (gov)	10	58 ✓	37
Maine (gov)	16*	16	32
Maryland (gov)	10	47	53 ✓
Massachusetts (gov)	12	62 ✓	37
Michigan (gov)	12	51 ✓	49
Ohio (gov)	9	65 ✓	32
Pennsylvania (gov)	10	31	53 ✓
Pennsylvania (sen)	10	33	60 ✓
Tennessee (gov)	9	47	52 ✓
Texas (gov)	15	46	52 ✓
Wisconsin (gov)	9	59 ✓	35

*Note: Twenty nine percent of this group voted for the victorious Independent candidate.

Nationally in House races, 58 percent of voters said that Congress's decision to put off health care until at least next year was "good because more time is needed for discussion." Thirty nine percent said this was "bad because the country needs reform now."

Welfare Reform

Michigan and Wisconsin are among the states that have enacted significant welfare reform programs recently. In both states, a majority of voters said the reforms had had a good effect on the state. In Michigan, 54 percent said the changes were good, 22 percent bad, while 16 percent said they had had no effect. In Wisconsin, the percentages were 56, 9, and 30 percent respectively.

Only in California

Thirty percent of California voters said that they were following the O.J. Simpson trial more closely than the election.

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MORE ELECTION VIGNETTES

Abortion didn't receive as much attention in this election as it has in some elections past. Between 8 and 18 percent of voters said it was one of the one or two issues that mattered most to them in casting their vote. In New York, those individuals voted decisively for Governor Cuomo; in other states, they looked decidedly Republican. In races where voters were asked whether abortion should be legal or illegal, there were divisions. Finally, gender differences were evident in this election as they have been since 1980.

Personalities and Popularity

- **Ross Perot.** A majority of Texans (55 percent) voting in the governor's race had an unfavorable opinion of Perot, while 36 percent had a favorable opinion of him.
- **Mario Cuomo and Ted Kennedy.** Two-thirds of voters in the Governor's race in New York said Cuomo had been in office too long. Twenty two percent of them still voted for him. A third said he had not been in office too long, and they voted overwhelmingly for him—91 percent to 7 percent. A majority of voters in Massachusetts (53 percent) said Kennedy had been in office too long, while 45 percent disagreed. Slightly more than a quarter of those who said he had been in office too long voted for him nonetheless.
- **Christine Todd Whitman.** Although she was not on the ballot this year, New Jerseyans were asked about her. Sixty-three percent had a favorable opinion. Virtually the same percentage, however, said she should not be a candidate for vice president in 1996.
- **Bob Packwood.** Senator Packwood of Oregon was not on the ballot this year, but his troubles have been in the news, and the exit pollsters asked Oregon voters whether he should resign. Nearly a third said he should stay in office, while 62 percent said he should leave.
- **William Roth.** Senator Roth was on the ballot, and won his race handily. Thirty-seven percent of voters there said the Senator's age (73) was an issue for them, and they voted 23 to 74 percent against him. Six in ten said this was not an issue, and they voted for Roth.

Abortion

Voters appear generally satisfied with the Supreme Court's recent decisions to keep abortion legal but put some restrictions on its use. We show below the percentage of voters who cited the issue as one of the one or two issues that mattered most to them in casting their vote and we then show how they voted in those races for which we have data.

	Abortion important issue in casting vote	Voted Rep.	Dem.
Arizona (sen)	20%	45%	51%✓
Florida (gov)	9	53 ✓	47
Maryland (gov)	18	66 ✓	34
Minnesota (gov)	8	58 ✓	32
Minnesota (sen)	16	59 ✓	36
Missouri (sen)	14	77 ✓	21
New Jersey (sen)	9	37	62 ✓
New York (gov)	9	28	55 ✓
Ohio (sen)	17	57 ✓	31
Pennsylvania (gov)*	16	33	29
S. Carolina (gov)	12	67 ✓	26
Tennessee (gov)	11	73 ✓	24
Texas (gov)	11	67 ✓	33
Virginia (sen)	14	48 ✓	45
Wisconsin (sen)	14	68 ✓	31

In a handful of states, the exit pollsters asked a four-part question about abortion. They asked voters to check a box indicating whether they believed abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, or illegal in all cases. The results, shown below, remind us that the issue continues to divide us.

Abortion should be...

	Legal in all/most cases	Illegal in most/all cases
Minn (gov/sen)	51%	46%
Ohio (gov/sen)	54	42
Okla (gov)	48	47
Oregon (gov)	62	35
Pennsylvania (gov)	55	40
Missouri (sen)	47	50

*__Note:__ In the Pennsylvania governor's race, of those who said abortion mattered to their vote, 35% voted for the candidate of the Constitutional Party, Peg Luksic.

The Gender Trap

Men and women are voting differently, and the gender gap has become a permanent feature of our politics. But the story has always had two sides. As women have been moving in the Democratic direction, men have been becoming more Republican. In the past, commentators have focused significant attention on women's voting patterns, in part because their rate of voting was increasing. It equalled men's for the first time in 1980. In this election, however, analysts are looking more closely at men, and particularly white men.

In House races in 1994, women voted 54 percent Democratic and 46 percent Republican. Men were a virtual mirror image, voting 43 percent Democratic to 57 percent Republican. White men (50 percent of the electorate) voted even more overwhelmingly Republican in House races, 63 to 37 percent. White women also voted Republican by 53 to 47 percent. White women in the South went decisively Republican (61–39 percent). In the West they favored the GOP by 52–48 percent and the Midwest by 51–49 percent. Only in the East, were they Democratic (54–46 percent).

About 30 percent of voters checked a box that indicated they were employed women. They voted 56 percent Democratic to 44 percent Republican.

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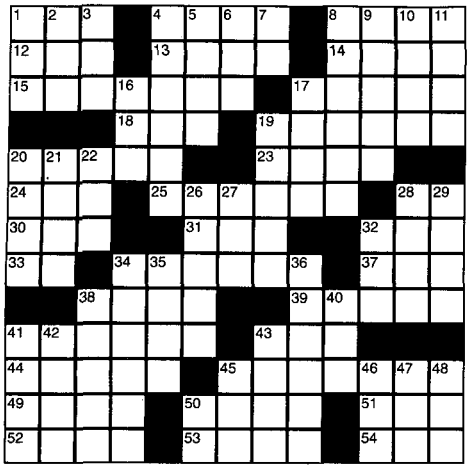
BioGraph

By Jonathan Schmalzbach



ACROSS

1 Smoking gun that Simpson left on the sidewalk?
4 Where Colin Powell lived most of his life
8 Communism killed this sea
12 What Carter couldn't keep flowing
13 Israeli Abba
14 Mubarak's national resource
15 He went to England instead of 45-Across
17 Queen of The Plaza
18 For shame!
19 Senator held captive for 5 1/2 years in 45-Across
20 Jack Kemp's team, hopefully not his legacy
23 It was dropped by the government in the '50s
24 Nation where Eamon deValera was born
25 Senator seriously wounded in WWII
28 "Of Thee I Sing" composer's initials
30 Angleton. Berg. Chambers. Etc.
31 Group attacked by Roberta Trachtenberg
32 One ___customer
33 Hiram, informally
34 Senator seriously wounded in WWII
37 First name of Paul Simon's partner
38 "..._____o'clock scholar"
39 Spending _____
41 Senator seriously wounded in 45–Across
43 Govt. agcy. headed by Janet Steiger, previously Daniel Oliver
44 What Louis L'_____ ended up with
45 Nation whose one-party state Susan Sontag described as "loving" in 1968
49 Reps. Roemer and Holden
50. Senator seriously wounded in WWII
51 This postal service to country dwellers became permanent in 1896
52 Coup d'___
53 What Como is, Cuomo isn't
54 Network whose news anchor did not go to college

DOWN

1 Part of the nickname of two Haitian ex-leaders
2 Zero
3 What Clay became for Cassius Marcellus
4 Publicist of 17–Across admitted in court he had this feeling for her shoes
5 Heinz Holliger is the world's most prominent soloist playing this instrument.
6 Jack did it in 1960, Bobby in 1968, Ted in 1969
7 State whose eastern part is Republican, western Democratic
8 Aspirin brand
9 Slang for something that's cool in the union's smallest state
10 "___ Want for Christmas"
11 What Bill does on Hillary
17 1201, to Cato
19 Asian peninsula
20 President wounded in WWII
21 Motto of Alger Hiss
22 ___of the land
26 Largest circulation black magazine
27 Charlie Ward's school
28 Father and son senators from 7–Down
29 Washington scandal in shorthand
32 One of David Kessler's many enemies
34 "My refuge and my fortress; my God, in whom___" (Psalm 91)
35 At no time, poetically
36 Regard highly
38 Some regulators want to ban this from magazines
40 Bill Clinton won with 43 of this
41 Patriotic singer Smith
42 What 2% of all 1998 Calif. cars cannot do at all
43 What Kay Hutchison did to Lloyd Bentsen's term
45 Shakespeare's radio network
46 Roosevelt's bureau. Hunter's friend.
47 Home of flying B–'s, F–'s and C–'s
48 Year in the reign of Queen Elizabeth
50 Major city whose mayor changed names in midst of term

The solution for BioGraph is on page 85.

Names In The News

To those of us who've dragged strange surnames all across the American landscape—overflowing square boxes and shouting into telephone receivers wherever we go—coming across other goofy or interesting names in print counts as entertainment. And because we live in a nation well stocked with quirky cognomens this idle amusement is rarely any further away than the nearest newspaper.

Take politics. One of my favorite Clinton White House names belongs to Susan Thomases, described by the *Washington Post* as the administration's "King Kong Kibitzer—whose advice on everything... resounds like a mighty roar through the halls of the West Wing." Ignoring her roaring and focusing solely on Ms. Thomases' surname, I think we can all agree that it is, well, quite singular. (Personally, I'm glad there aren't many other...uh... Thomaseses in the country. Here I'm speaking strictly from the point of view of suffering typists and stutterers all across the country. This is a column about difficult names, and whether the nameholder is also difficult and prone to roaring has ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO DO WITH IT.)

Sometimes an offbeat name can actually be a plus for a political career. James Talent, for instance, is a fine name for a Congressman (R-Mo.). For all I know, Mike Harmless, mayor of Greencastle, Indiana, may actually owe a few electoral points to his disarming moniker. And if you're going to Capitol Hill to bring home some bacon for the folks back home, Nathan Deal (D-Ga.) isn't such a bad handle. A bit gamy, maybe. But practical.

Other names are less useful in politics. Let's face it: "Ron Klink" doesn't have a great ring. (Perhaps the Capitol Hill freshman looks good on TV). I've got to assume Jeff Flake is an incredibly talented guy, because he didn't get his job as head of the Barry Goldwater Institute in Phoenix on the basis of namepower. And while Thomas Grumbly would be a great handle in a Dickens novel, and isn't such a bad name for a current assistant secretary in the U.S. Department of Energy, it would not be an ideal tag for a Senate career ("The chair recognizes Senator Grumbly...").

Lots of personal names are out-and-out political liabilities. In the next county over from where I live, a real live individual by the name of Rob Outhouse recently ran for Sheriff. Now, "Rob" anything is not a good name for a Sheriff. But Rob Outhouse—well, that's just tragic.

Which is not to say that Rob can't rise above his problem. There are plenty of politicos who have triumphed over appellational adversity: Take Massachusetts Senate leader Billy Bulger. Or Mike Crapo, U.S. Representative from Idaho. Or Tokyo Sexwale, the new premier of Johannesburg and Pretoria in South Africa. (If you bomb in government, Tokyo, I suggest you start a band.) And then there's the Republican leader of the Michigan Senate, Dick Posthumus. You've got to admire a guy who can build a public career on that particular rock.

There actually may be lots of Posthumus people in Michigan, because I recently noticed a letter in a national magazine signed by a Michigander named Debra Posthumus-Forbes. Which brings up another issue. If you had an easy and socially acceptable chance to stop being Posthumus and start being Forbesish, would you leap at it or what? I can't see clinging with icy fingers to the deadly identifier of my birth and resorting to a hyphenated surname in a case like that. But then I guess it takes all kinds to make up a good phone book.

—KZ

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